

RACIAL INTEGRITY
AND
OTHER FEATURES OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM

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RACIAL INTEGRITY

AND

OTHER FEATURES OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM

BY A. H. SHANNON, B.D., M.A.

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A. H. SHANNON

PREFACE.

THIS volume is in no sense the result of any recent agitation of the race question. Its inception dates from the year 1900, and the manuscript was practically completed before the Brownsville affair, the Atlanta riots, and other less serious race conflicts aroused the country to at least a temporary realization of the existence of latent racial antagonisms which, under sufficient provocation, may at any time cause serious trouble. Advantage was, however, taken of a final revision of the manuscript to refer briefly to two or three of the more recent outbreaks because of their value as illustrations of facts and conditions under discussion.

The purpose of this volume is primarily to bring before thoughtful people the moral and ethical principles involved in the amalgamation of the white and the black races. Busy men will find the gist of the volume in Chapter I. A. H. SHANNON.

NASHVILLE, TENN., May 1, 1907.

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INTRODUCTION.

SOME six or seven years ago, I was a student attending the Theological Department of Vanderbilt University. On one occasion Dr. W. F. Tillett, Dean of the Department, while lecturing to his class in Systematic Theology, spoke of a visit made to the United States by the late Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, sometime city missionary of the Wesleyans in East London.¹

The reference made by Dean Tillett was brief, perhaps an illustration of some point under discussion, perhaps scarcely more than an allusion. For some reason, however, this reference caused the situation to flash upon me and to get such a hold upon my mind that I was unable to put the matter aside. My attention having been thus directed to the moral principles involved in the amalgamation of the races, I began to investigate the situation as carefully as press of studies and other duties would admit. From conditions obtaining in the schools, I turned to conditions obtaining in religious organizations, especially the practical attitude of the mission boards of the Northern Churches toward the moral and ethical features of the negro problem.

Several instances, in which the United States gov-

¹See "Racial Integrity," p. 59.

ernment had utterly disregarded moral considerations and social safeguards in the selection of mulattoes for Federal positions, having already come under my personal observation, I extended the scope of my investigation so as to include the influences emanating from the political situation.

It was not a part of my original plan to enter upon any discussion of either the economic or the political features of the negro problem, but rather to limit this study to those factors which have to do with its moral phases. It soon became evident, however, that other matters must be discussed in order that the moral and ethical features of the problem might be presented with any degree of clearness or fullness. In dealing with so complex a situation, the problem of what to omit has been a difficult one to solve.¹

In undertaking to deal with any feature of the negro problem, I am aware of the danger, as a Southern man, of becoming a partisan rather than an impartial student of existing conditions. My sympathies are with the South, and naturally so. The temptation, therefore, to stress those facts which, as I see the situation, constitute the strongest defense of the course

¹. When a man attempts to discuss the negro problem at the South, he may begin with the negro; but he really touches, with however light a hand, the whole bewildering problem of a civilization. ("The Present South," Murphy, p. 158.)

pursued by the South between the years 1840 and 1865, and those elements entering into the negro problem since 1865, which bid fair ultimately to vindicate the contentions of the more conservative Southern leaders of that trying period when the lines were being drawn for the final struggle with slavery, has been present as every page was written. Perhaps the reader will regard many things as written with this ulterior purpose. I see clearly, however, that in so far as the sectional differences of the past and the bitternesses incident to these are drawn into any discussion of present conditions, the possibility of an impartial comprehension of the present situation will be removed. Looking backward, we may now recognize many things done in the days when passion ran high as stupendous blunders. Even so: yet it is not necessary to question the integrity of either section, nor should the former mistakes of either section of our country be regarded as precedents fettering us in our attempts to deal with the present.

It is not less difficult for a typical Northern man to make an impartial study of the negro problem than it is for a Southern man to do so. In the one case, as in the other, mistakes have been made, and affiliations and point of view are determined largely by surroundings. Instead, therefore, of indulging in bitter recriminations, it is well that both sections should remember that we inherit our present problems from an

age "when slavery touched no man's conscience," and that every section of the original colonies must share the responsibility for the presence of the negro in these United States. But for climatic and economic reasons, slavery would have remained national instead of becoming local and sectional.

England was forced to deal with a situation in her West Indian possessions similar to that existing in our own country. England liberated the slaves in her American possessions at a cost of less than one hundred and twenty-five dollars per capita.¹ No serious interruption to the commercial or to the social interests of the colonies resulted from this step because of the manner in which it was taken.

The emancipation of the slaves in the United States could not, perhaps, have been accomplished in a manner more injurious to the slaves themselves, nor at a greater cost to the white race. The cost of the Civil War, reckoning only the financial interests involved, is appalling. For each group of four slaves freed we must reckon a cash value of at least two thousand dollars utterly lost to the slaveholder; war expenses amounting in cash to at least three times the value of the group; indirect expenditures, depreciations in values, and loss of time from productive occupations on

¹See "Leading Facts of English History," Montgomery, p. 354.

the part of those actually serving in the two armies; subsequent pension rolls, etc.—all amounting to several times the value of the entire slave population, and causing the emancipation of the slaves in the United States to cost in cash and economic values from twenty to thirty times as much as was the case in the British colonies, and at least four or five times as much as it would have cost to purchase the entire slave population of 1860 and to transport it back to Africa. To this estimate of the cost of the Civil War must be added the loss of the life of one white man for each group of four slaves freed.

This line of thought appeals strongly for further elaboration; but these matters, except as they show the folly of war as a general proposition, have an academic interest rather than a practical bearing upon the present situation. Only as we have deemed the experiences of the past valuable in preventing the repetition of such of the mistakes of the past as are possible under present conditions, and in avoiding equally serious mistakes in the future, have we thought best to refer to anything that may kindle afresh dying embers left by the scourge of fire which swept over this nation during the sixties.

That there is a disposition to make a careful study of the negro problem is evident, on the one hand, from the number of books recently issued and the number of magazine articles constantly appearing dealing with

this subject, and, on the other hand, by the reception given these by the thoughtful, reading public.

There was a time when the negro problem appealed to the passions of men rather than to their reason. The antislavery agitation preceding the Civil War, the war itself, and the chaotic conditions incident to and succeeding the war forced this problem upon the country under circumstances most unfavorable to its just settlement. Beginning in an unselfish interest in the negro race, the antislavery movement soon became entangled with other interests, and entered the arena of politics and party strife, uniformly taking that course calculated to arouse the bitterest antagonisms. Between the contending forces of the North and the South, the negro has suffered much—more, perhaps, in proportion to numbers than either section of the white race involved.

Of the chapters following, that dealing with "Racial Integrity" is by far the most important. Amalgamation of the races, in the case of two dissimilar and unassimilable peoples, involves a degree of moral depravity which, because it affects the very foundation of all virtue and of all character, cannot be overlooked.

It is with the hope that these pages will awaken interest in the moral welfare of the negro race as well as that of the white race that this volume is sent forth. The low moral standard which we practically set for the negro, and which the race as a whole tacitly ac-

cepts, constitutes the most serious feature of the present situation. If the reader will kindly bear this in mind and will interpret every part of the following pages in the light of this definite purpose to emphasize the moral and ethical features of the problem, he will see that nothing is here said with a view to reviving any of the sectional differences once more prominent than at present. There is need for agitation. Only when the situation is fully understood may we hope to see its evils corrected. We hope that the reading of this chapter will promote sympathy for, if not coöperation in, the effort to bring these conditions so clearly and so forcibly before the American people that the wrongs and the injustice now being done the full-blood negro—and the white race—shall be no longer possible.

The chapter dealing with the “Problem of the City” is now infinitely more pertinent than that dealing with slavery. For good or evil, the institution of slavery is buried in a past which, while it cannot be forgotten, should not fetter either the present or the future. The present herding together in our cities and towns is injuring a large class of the negroes infinitely more than it was ever in the power of the system of slavery to do. Next to the chapter dealing with “Racial Integrity, with the possible exception of that dealing with the “Educational Problem,” this chapter deals with the most vital interests of the negro at the present time.

The chapter dealing with slavery is necessary to this study, if for no other reason, because of the historical setting which it furnishes. Our excuse for devoting so large a part of this volume to the subject of slavery lies in this fact. When future historians are able to strike a just balance between the contending interests of 1860, the verdict will certainly be that the South of 1860 was the victim, rather than the master, of the slave population.

As a general proposition, it is easier to point out mistakes than to offer safe counsel. In so far as the chapter dealing with the "Educational Problem" is constructive, it may be considered as tentative and suggestive rather than final. It is of the highest importance that methods of instruction be adapted to the race as a whole, and that exceptions to the general racial characteristics be dealt with as such. It is also of the highest importance that the instruction given shall be such as will help the negro to meet his immediate obligations and to provide for his immediate necessities. Here, as elsewhere, the most serious mistakes are those growing out of the suspension of moral and ethical principles by those who have sought to assist the race.

If we are able to make any original contribution to a thorough understanding of the present situation, it must be along the line of the moral and ethical principles involved, and the value of this addition to the

rapidly growing literature dealing with the negro problem should be estimated largely by its success—or failure—in bringing these principles, and the racial degradation incident to amalgamation, clearly before thoughtful men. We regard the volume as a plea for the best and highest interests of both races.

The presence of the negro in these United States constitutes by far our most serious social problem, and there is every reason to fear that, in view of the attitude of the white race, the difficulties incident to the moral features of this problem will become more and more acute as time passes. That the full significance of the present status of amalgamation has not been recognized by any large number of our people is quite evident. It is equally true that no voice, within or without the race, has been effectively raised against the evils of the present situation.

Personal bias may have its influence upon our interpretation of the statistics of the Census Department, and also upon that of the figures obtained by personal investigations.¹ A very stubborn array of facts does exist, however, and these may be subjected to the most careful tests. Our interpretation of these facts may, or may not, be accepted. The reader is asked to give existing facts their proper weight, considering the situation carefully and impartially, and to decide for himself whether or not our conclusions are warranted. If

¹See "Racial Integrity," pp. 20 (*a*) and 26 (*b*).

once the attention of the American people could be fixed upon conditions as they now exist, much would be gained toward securing a better state of affairs.

There are factors entering into this problem of which the Census can take no account. Causes must operate long enough to produce tangible results before the statistician is able to indicate them. In the study of the moral phases of the negro problem, however, we have the results, written large, from which to deduce the causes. Our task is that of tracing the effect back to its cause. If this volume, in spite of its defects, proves the means of leading to a clearer understanding of the situation now confronting us, it will have accomplished much. It is sent forth with the earnest hope that it may lead to the correction of those mistakes made hitherto in practically all efforts to assist the negro. Should it prove the means of destroying, in any measure, sympathetic regard for the full-blood negro, it will, to that extent, fail to accomplish its purpose. Should it create hardships for the mulatto, none can regret the necessity for this more than does the writer. The "greatest good to the greatest number," the vital interests of two races, the foundations of all morality—these are all involved; and, while recognizing that in proportion as this volume accomplishes its mission its weight must fall heavily upon the mulatto, the cause of truth and righteousness forbids silence.

What the ultimate solution of the problem of amalgamation will be cannot now be foreseen. I am, however, convinced that the best interests of both races, for the present as well as for the future, demand that the negro race shall be held rigidly to the standard of right-living, and that all breaches of the moral and ethical code shall meet with such prompt and practical reprobation as shall furnish a healthful moral stimulus to the entire race. Such is not the case to-day. If the white race of America must be schoolmaster to the negro, it should not only furnish him clean and wholesome and practical instruction, but should enforce this by all the efficacy of right example.

There is one consideration which should not be overlooked. We approach all the problems of history with a belief in the existence of a Supreme Ruler—"a Power which makes for righteousness"—overruling and directing in the affairs of men. With such a faith, it is not difficult to look upon slavery as a providentially ordered school for the African. It is this conception of the events of the past and of the present situation which casts the "Bow of Promise" across all those dark clouds which gather about the negro problem as a storm center. Optimism, however, becomes hurtful whenever it blinds men to the existence of manifest evils or leads to a disregard of legitimate social safeguards.

CHAPTER I.

RACIAL INTEGRITY.

IN the study of this subject we come to what is unquestionably the most important feature of the negro problem. Yet, notwithstanding its vital importance to both races, it has not received that careful study and that full treatment which it deserves.

Of more than a dozen books recently issued which profess to treat the negro problem with some degree of thoroughness, not one deals satisfactorily with all that is involved in the amalgamation of the races. The authors have either failed to grasp the full significance of existing facts and conditions or, out of consideration for the refinement of their readers, have been content to pass over this feature of the problem with a few suggestive allusions. One or two of the writers, themselves of mixed blood, have referred to racial admixture in such a way as to imply at least a tacit approval. There is a danger in making quotations that a sentence or even a paragraph apart from its context may not truly represent a writer's views. The following, however, seems sufficiently explicit. Many such quotations might be given:

"There is no doubt that judicious race amalgamation is capable of exercising a profound and far-reaching

influence upon inferior types of people. Degenerate people are always improved and strengthened by an infusion of virile blood. . . . The best examples of negro race admixture that have come under our observation are those which have an equal inheritance of characteristics from both white and black progenitors, with the initial amalgamation extending back to the third or fourth generation. In such cases we have a degree of intelligence, a poise of judgment, and a solidity of character wholly wanting in the extremes of the negro.

"There is an impression in the minds of some superficial white people that the best-developed and most manly types of negro people are those of pure blood. But such impressions are misconceptions, and unwarranted by existing facts. . . . As we have already shown, the pure negro people are, by the very nature of their characteristic endowments, precluded from reaching a high degree of efficiency. Whatever the freedman has achieved in the way of intelligence and character is due to alien characteristics incorporated into his being through race amalgamation." ("The American Negro," Thomas, pp. 408, 409.)

The following quotation, however, shows that the writer is not a disinterested witness:

"On my mother's side I come of German and English stock. My maternal grandfather, the son of a white indentured female servant by a colored man,

was born in Bedford, Pa., about the year 1758. My maternal grandmother was a white German woman." ("The American Negro," Thomas, Introduction, pp. xi., xii.)

Prof. W. B. Smith, of Tulane University, in his recent book, "The Color Line," from which we quote freely in a subsequent chapter,¹ gives a clear and, within its scope, a most satisfactory treatment of the negro problem. He, however, treats the whole matter from the standpoint of the scientist rather than from that of the moralist. He therefore considers only the interests of the white race, and those interests largely as viewed from the scientific standpoint. We strongly urge those who wish a convincing statement of the objections to amalgamation drawn from a careful comparison of the races to read Professor Smith's book. Here will be found interesting comparisons of brain weights and qualities, of nervous organization, of physical characteristics, and other matters entering into the science of comparative anthropology. In this way he presents the grounds upon which he assigns the negro to the lowest place in the scale of mankind. His investigations, as do those of all scientists, lead logically to the conclusion that the principle of "selection" demands that the higher type, whether that type be man or beast, be not degraded by fusion with a lower type.

¹See "The Educational Problem."

Science is proverbially heartless; but not more so than the laws of nature which it seeks to interpret and to apply. Christian sentiment, on the other hand, always indulgent to weakness and helplessness, leads naturally to the opposite extreme. It is, therefore, to be expected that the kindness fostered by the Christian religion will sometimes hesitate to follow the dictates of science. Nowhere, however, is there a demand for more accurate scientific knowledge upon the one hand and for greater display of Christian principles on the other than in dealing with the social and moral problems incident to the presence of the negro in the United States. Christianity should bring to the solution of these problems those sympathies so necessary to a full appreciation of all that enters into this race question. Science, on the other hand, should contribute to this solution a clear and complete intellectual perception of all that is involved. Christian sentiment should mitigate the harshness of science and, in turn, should become infinitely more helpful because of the direction of, and the chastening influence exerted by, scientific knowledge. On the part of those who have sought to assist the negro there has been too much of undisciplined impulse, and this has found expression in many ways really hurtful to the race.

The moral and ethical principles entering into this problem are, if possible, much more important than those merely scientific. It is the conviction that there

is urgent need that certain moral principles involved in the amalgamation of the black and the white races should be plainly stated and fully discussed, which prompts the writing of this volume.

Even the most casual study of the negro problem shows that, through amalgamation, the race is rapidly undergoing a change. It is our purpose to discuss:

I. The extent to which amalgamation has been carried.

II. The influences bringing this about.

III. How present conditions are injurious to the moral and to the ethical ideals of the negro race.

I.

In seeking to ascertain the extent to which amalgamation has been carried, two sources of information have been used—viz., (a) The United States Census Reports and (b) personal observation and investigation.

(a) For accuracy and trustworthiness, nothing can compare with the Census Reports. These reports, found in Bulletin No. 8, Census of 1900, to which frequent reference will be made, furnish information covering a period of forty years. The first census taking cognizance of the mulatto as a distinct element of population was taken in 1850. The latest was in 1890. In the enumeration of 1900 it seems that, instead of regarding the mulatto as a separate class, he

is included, along with the negro, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, etc., under the general class "colored." We are, therefore, able to find no statement of the ratio of mulatto to total negro population later than that given for the year 1890. From the various tables of Bulletin No. 8 we gather the facts offered below.

We are warned, however, not to accept the figures of the Census Department as absolutely correct. On page 11, Bulletin 8, we find these words:

"The census of the negroes in 1900 was probably less accurate than that of the whites, . . . but it is believed to be not more than two per cent below the truth, and at least as accurate as any previous census of the negroes.

"The censuses of mulattoes, as distinguished from full-blood negroes, taken in 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1890, though subject to a far greater and wholly indeterminate probable error, have shown a general agreement of results.

"They indicate that between eleven and sixteen per cent of the negro population have, or are believed by the enumerators to have, some degree of white blood."

Such is the general conclusion reached by the experts of the Census Bureau. It is well, however, to call attention, in detail, to some of the facts made clear by the tables given in Bulletin 8.

It is evident, in the first place, that the ratio of mu-

latto to total negro population is rising rapidly, if not steadily. In 1850 the ratio of mulatto to total negro population was, according to the reports, eleven and two-tenths per cent. In 1890 it had risen to fifteen and two-tenths per cent, or an average of one per cent each decade. While the average gain shown is one per cent per decade, this gain, as indicated by the tables referred to above, has not been uniform, or even continuous. The figures are: For 1850, 11.2 per cent; 1860, 13.2 per cent; 1870, 12 per cent; 1880, no figures given; 1890, 15.2 per cent.

Concerning the accuracy of these figures, we quote again:

"As a general result of the analysis of the census figures on mulattoes, it appears that the censuses of 1850, 1860, and 1870 agree fairly among themselves, and furnish an index of some value regarding the intermixture of whites and blacks toward the close of slavery. It cannot be denied that the per cents of mulattoes to all negroes in some States differ so widely from census to census as to cast grave doubts upon the results. No one familiar with the facts would explain the apparent increase of mulattoes in Tennessee between 1850 and 1860 and the decrease between 1860 and 1870 as both real. I do not believe that the reported number of mulattoes can be deemed to be within ten per cent of the true number, and see no means of judging with confidence whether the reported num-

ber exceeded or fell short of the truth. Yet even so, it is a step away from ignorance to have the observation of many thousand enumerators at four independent inquiries as evidence that in the United States between one-ninth and one-sixth of the negroes were of mixed blood, while in Cuba one-half and in Porto Rico five-sixths have been so classed by the census." (Bulletin No. 8, Census of 1900, p. 17.)

The figures for 1870 present a difficulty. The ratio of mulatto to total negro population in 1860, as given in table 56, was thirteen and two-tenths per cent; in 1870, twelve per cent. Now it is difficult to explain this decrease of one and two-tenths per cent shown by the census of 1870 and the increase of three and two-tenths per cent shown by that of 1890 on any other hypothesis than that of inaccuracy in the returns made by the enumerators of 1870. Many things warrant us in believing that this enumeration should have shown a decided increase in the ratio of mulatto to total negro population. This, we should remember, was the decade of the Civil War; and even later than 1870 matters in the South were in an unsettled condition. We quote again: "An investigation made at the time of the Tenth Census established beyond question the fact that serious omissions, especially in the Southern States and among the negro population, vitiated the census of 1870, taken under a most unsatisfactory system and at a time when the disorganization following

the Civil War was a serious obstacle." (Bulletin 8, p. 29.)

It was not in the South, however, that the greatest fluctuations are noted, as is shown by the following comparisons: North Central Division—1860, 29.6 per cent; 1870, 22.3 per cent; loss, 7.3 per cent. North Atlantic Division—1860, 24 per cent; 1870, 17.3 per cent; loss 6.7 per cent. South Atlantic Division—1860, 11.9 per cent; 1870, 10.4 per cent; loss, 1.5 per cent. Had this enumeration been made as carefully and as honestly as that of either 1860 or 1890, a different result would doubtless have been obtained. We shall have occasion to refer to this period again.¹

Since the ratio of mulatto to total negro population is not given later than for 1890, we are left largely to conjecture as to the exact relation of the two at the present time. If, however, we suppose the average gain of one per cent per decade to have been maintained until the present time (1907), the ratio of mulatto to total negro population is now about 16.8 per cent. The Census Bureau, however, suggests a possible error amounting to ten per cent. If this be expressed in terms of the ratio of the mulatto to total negro population and added to the above figures, the result is 18.48 per cent. I am satisfied that this result is as near to the truth as it is possible to arrive. My own investigations indicate that it is somewhat too

¹See "Racial Integrity," pp. 43 and 44.

low. We may be sure that the ratio of mulatto to total negro population is now between 17 and 20 per cent, and that this ratio is rising at an average rate of at least 1 per cent each decade.

The real situation is more easily comprehended when the comparison is expressed in round numbers rather than in percentages. The census of 1870 shows that there were at that time in the United States a total of 584,049 mulattoes. That of 1890 reveals the presence of 1,132,060, an increase of almost 100 per cent in the short space of twenty years. There are now very nearly 2,000,000 mulattoes in the United States.

Our statement of the case would not be complete, however, if we failed to call attention to the fact that the census reports show that the ratio of mulatto to total negro population is far greater in the North than it is in the South. In the following eight States this ratio was, in 1890, greater than 50 per cent: New Hampshire, 59.6 per cent; North Dakota, 59 per cent; Wisconsin, 58.8 per cent; Maine, 57.4 per cent; Michigan, 53.8 per cent; Oregon, 53 per cent; New Mexico (territory), 50.4 per cent; Idaho, 50.2 per cent.

In some of these States this ratio increased more than 100 per cent between 1870 and 1890. We shall have occasion to refer elsewhere to the phenomenal increase of mulattoes in the North.¹ It is well, however, to call attention to the fact that within the past six-

¹See "Racial Integrity," pp. 30, 31, and 35.

teen years this ratio has increased in all the Northern States. It is quite certain that at the present time in several other States this ratio is now 50 per cent or greater, while it has certainly risen in the States named above.

(b) The investigations which I have been able to make all indicate that the figures given by the Census Bureau are, perhaps, slightly short of the actual conditions. In prosecuting these investigations I have used two methods. It is well, however, to caution the reader not to expect too much from either method. Both are defective—so much so that the results obtained by them are not final even for the necessarily restricted area actually investigated. These methods are here given in some detail more for their suggestiveness than for the accuracy of the results obtained.

i. While traveling in different parts of the country, especially in the Central South, I have made a practice of noting the number of negroes to be seen at a given place, or at various places within a given time, dividing them into three classes—viz.:

I. Negro, or those showing no sign of amalgamation.

II. Mulatto, or those showing clearly the infusion of white blood.

III. Doubtful, or those who cannot, without inquiry into their family history, be assigned to either of the above classes.

It will be noted that, in this method of investigation, much depends upon the training of the investigator and much upon his familiarity with the markings distinguishing the various races. If there were but the Caucasian and the negro races to deal with, the problem would be comparatively simple. As a matter of fact, we have to deal with representatives of several races which, in color, differ but little from the mulatto. The difficulties experienced just at this point in the past probably led the Census Bureau in 1900 to group several races under the general term "colored." This arrangement, no doubt, greatly simplified the work of the enumerators, but it also largely destroyed the value of the census of 1900 for this study. It is to be hoped that the census of 1910 will resume this line of investigation and make an exhaustive inquiry concerning the progress of amalgamation as it is taking place between the negro and all other races.

There is another difficulty which renders it impossible to pass definitely upon every case. The various tribes of Africa differ widely in color. It is a well-established fact that the inhabitants of Northeast Africa are not of pure negro stock, but represent a fusion of some Asiatic race or races—probably a branch of the Semitic race—with the negro. Occasionally, in America, we find a mulatto with so light a strain of white blood that it is difficult, in view of these differences in the shades of color exhibited by the various

tribes found in Africa, to be sure that he is of mixed blood. There are also, even now, a few families, commonly regarded as white, in which there is a strain of negro blood. However remote this strain, a careful study of such families rarely fails to reveal its existence. The principle known to scientists as "atavism," or reversion to the original type, rarely fails to produce in such families an occasional member exhibiting, in a more or less marked degree, the physical and mental characteristics of the negro. With advancing age these characteristics frequently become much more marked than they are in youth. I know of one case in which this development was so marked that, after middle life, a man drifted away from his kindred and came to be regarded as a mulatto by the community in which he lived. He ultimately came to associate with the negroes, while his brothers and sisters showed no signs of racial admixture and were not generally regarded as being of mixed blood. The infusion of negro blood in this case was very remote, being not more, perhaps, than one-thirty-second. Even among full-blooded negroes, climatic and other conditions may modify color. Where negroes have lived for several generations in a cold climate there may sometimes be a perceptible lightening of color. Climatic influences never efface all racial markings, but where the original tribal color is light there is a probability that the most careful observer will class as mulattoes those

who are of pure negro stock. There are, however, characteristics exhibited by the mixed peoples which are readily recognized by ethnological experts, but which only justify us in placing a given case in the "doubtful" column.

This is, therefore, a convenient classification for those of one-eighth or less negro blood, as well as for a much smaller class who have one-eighth or less of white blood. In my investigations I have, no doubt, included a small number of Turks, Arabs, Indians, etc., as well as a few very dark Latin-Americans, under this third division. No doubt mistakes have also been made in the classification of a few full-blooded negroes whose original tribal color was not as black as that of the typical African. When it is remembered that I had no right to ask questions, that I rarely had an opportunity to study family connections, and that often my opinion had to be formed at a single passing glance on a crowded street, the difficulties under which I have labored become apparent.

Results obtained by this method of investigation vary widely. It was found that a given town gave different results according to the time of day or night, and the locality, in which the count was made. More thorough investigation would, perhaps, change figures slightly. In these investigations my object was two-fold. I was seeking to ascertain as nearly as possible both the exact extent to which amalgamation has been

carried and the influences tending to increase the evil. Within the past five years I have made many such counts, and find the results both startling and humiliating. In some few instances seventy-five per cent of those counted clearly showed the infusion of white blood. The average obtained by this method of investigation is, for small cities, towns, and villages, as follows: Twenty-two and five-tenths per cent clearly showed the infusion of white blood, with six per cent classed as doubtful. This leaves seventy-one and five-tenths per cent of pure negro stock. All the counts entering into this average were made in the Central South.

Elsewhere in this volume will be found a discussion of the "Problem of the City" as respects the negro race. In this connection, however, I wish to call special attention to Table IV., of Bulletin 8, Census of 1900, giving an interesting statement of conditions existing in a number of cities in 1860. From this table we give, in descending order, the ten cities in which the ratio of mulatto to total negro population was highest, viz.:

	Per Cent.
Cuyahoga County (Cleveland, Ohio).....	59.3
San Francisco, Cal.....	57.2
Hamilton County (Cincinnati, Ohio).....	54.9
Chicago, Ill.....	49.3
New Orleans, La.....	48.9
Suffolk County (Boston, Mass.).....	38.3
St. Louis County (St. Louis, Mo.).....	32.7

Philadelphia, Pa.....	32.6
Mobile, Ala.....	26.6
Charleston, S. C.....	25.2

It will be noted that the ratio in New Orleans and Charleston is more than four times as great as that obtaining in 1860 for the remainder of the States in which these two cities are situated.

During the year 1905 I made a careful investigation of conditions existing in four cities—namely, Nashville, Tenn., St. Louis, Mo., Kansas City, Mo., and Denver, Colo.

In order to reach a correct average for these four cities it would be necessary to investigate an equal number of cases in each city, making the counts under practically identical conditions. This I did not do. I have, however, made up my statement for each city—namely:

	Per Cent Negro.	Per Cent Mulatto.	Doubtful Classification.
Denver, Colo.....	28.0	66.0	6.0
Kansas City, Mo.....	30.0	64.0	6.0
Nashville, Tenn.....	42.3	49.1	8.6
St. Louis, Mo.....	33.3	66.6	0.0
Average for four cities.....	33.4	61.4	5.15

Subsequent investigations, made in 1906, show that these figures are not quite correct for Denver, but that mulattoes compose between sixty-nine and seventy per cent of the negro population of that city.

These figures, together with those quoted from the

census, not only indicate the drifting of the mulatto toward the larger cities, especially those of the North, but they also shed some light upon the morals of the negroes who are herded together in the larger cities.

2. The second method of investigation, although imperfect, is capable of yielding more accurate and trustworthy results in its sphere. It also makes prominent a feature of the negro problem not brought out distinctly by the first method, and concerning which the census affords no information.

Blanks were sent to a number of teachers of negro public schools with the request that they fill out and return these, thus furnishing a statement of conditions obtaining in their respective schools. Responses were not as numerous as I had hoped that they would be, but were quite sufficient to serve my purpose—that of approximating existing conditions. The table given below sets forth the conditions in four representative schools, two town and two country schools being selected:

	City Schools.	Country Schools.	Per Cent Sexes.	Per Cent Total.
Students enrolled.....	54 160	43 48		
Mulatto males.....	17 25	2 1	14.42+	
Mulatto females.....	18 75	4 3	32.78+	=47.24+
Negro males.....	8 40	7 11	21.63+	
Negro females.....	8 20	15 19	20.32+	=41.95+
Doubtful classification.	3 0	15 14	10.49+	10.49+

It will be noted that mulattoes compose sixty-three

and one-tenth per cent of the students in the two town schools, while in the two country schools they compose only ten and nine-tenths per cent. Negroes compose thirty-five and five-tenths per cent of those in attendance upon the town schools, as against fifty-six per cent in the country schools. All the teachers of rural schools agree in giving a very large per cent as of doubtful classification. The teachers of the town schools, on the other hand, return a very small per cent as belonging to this class. In this respect returns from the rural districts should have been more accurate. The teachers were, in most instances, acquainted with the parents of the children, and a careful investigation should have enabled them to decide the status of almost every child. All these cases returned by the teachers as of doubtful classification are recognized as negroes in the communities in which they live, as is shown by their presence in schools maintained exclusively for negroes.

The figures given above represent a very small part of the South. The teachers were not ethnological experts, and for other reasons the results obtained are subject to revision. Several deductions may, however, be safely drawn from the results obtained by this and other methods of investigation.

I. Young mulattoes are very numerous, showing that the evil is increasing. Practically fifty per cent of the children in the four schools, returns from which

are used in the table above, clearly show the infusion of white blood. We do not believe that this per cent holds good for all the negro public schools. It is certain, however, that the mulattoes attending school are far in excess of the ratio of adult mulatto to the total adult negro population.

It has not been my privilege to make a similar investigation of the private and the denominational schools and colleges maintained for the benefit of the Southern negro, but it is certain that this ratio is much higher in these than in the public schools—probably between fifty and seventy-five per cent. In some institutions of this class, the ratio of mulatto to negro students is probably above seventy-five per cent.

II. There is a perceptible drifting apart of the full-blooded negro and the mulatto. This tendency is exhibited in many ways, sometimes developing into an acute antagonism between the two. It is, however, most noticeable in the different occupations into which the two gravitate. The negro usually performs hard manual labor, while the mulatto usually performs lighter work. This fact lies at the basis of that divergence of the two classes which is becoming more pronounced each year.

The negro is, as a rule, indifferent to educational privileges, as he is toward everything else requiring wise forethought and sustained effort. So, while we find the negro doing much of the heavier work of the

South, we find the mulatto employed in such occupations as call him from the rural districts into the cities and towns, thus giving a cumulative result in the showing made by these.

The mulatto is also drifting northward, making the problem of amalgamation especially acute in the cities of the North.

The mulatto also manifests an eagerness to enter professional life, and especially the government service. The latter ambition the negro shares to the full limit of a strong desire which, in the nature of the case, is seldom realized. This difference in the goals of their effort, together with the strange indifference to the moral issues involved universally shown by those who attempt to assist the negro, explains the fact, too patent to be seriously questioned, that the mulatto is largely monopolizing the efforts made in behalf of the negro race. I shall have occasion to discuss this matter more fully elsewhere.¹

III. Another fact, made quite evident by my investigations, is that the per cent of mulatto to total negro population is much greater in the cosmopolitan communities of the South than is the case in those communities where typical Southern conditions prevail. Especially is this the case in those communities where representatives of the Latin-American races have long predominated. The evil, now being dis-

¹See pages 50, *et seq.*

cussed, exists almost unrebuked in all those countries where these peoples are in contact with the negro. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the census of the island of Cuba, taken during the period of military occupation, shows that in that entire island the ratio of mulatto to total negro population is fifty per cent. The census of Porto Rico, taken about the same time, shows that in that island the ratio of mulatto to total negro population is eighty-three and three-tenths per cent!

Partially successful efforts are now being made to divert the tide of European immigration from the North and West to the South. The hope of the South lies largely in white immigrants *of the right kind*. Social conditions in those countries where degenerate representatives of the Latin races abound and are in contact with the negro furnish a valuable object lesson for all the world. What conditions may ultimately come to prevail in these United States is a question which fills the minds of all who study this problem with foreboding. One thing is quite evident: Whatever conditions come to prevail, the negro problem can no longer be, as it has largely been in the past, sectional.

As a summary of the results obtained by these various methods of investigation, the following is offered:

We have the statement of the Census Bureau to the effect that in 1890 the ratio of mulatto to total negro population was fifteen and two-tenths per cent, with

the probability that this number is too small by ten per cent. The average gain of mulatto to total negro population for a period of forty years (1850 to 1890) has been, according to the census, at the rate of one per cent per decade. These figures, interpreted as carefully as possible, give eighteen and forty-eight one-hundredths per cent as probably the correct statement of this ratio at the present time. My own investigations give an average of twenty-two and five-tenths per cent for villages, towns, and small cities. Large cities show a much higher per cent, while country districts show a much lower per cent. I am satisfied that for continental United States and Territories the ratio of mulatto to total negro population is now between eighteen and twenty per cent, and that unless amalgamation is effectually checked in some way this ratio will continue to rise until practically the whole of the negro race will come to be of mixed blood.

II.

In the preceding division we have given some account of the methods pursued in our investigations, and the sources of information drawn upon in reaching the conclusions stated in the above summary. We come now to an investigation of the factors entering into this general result, and shall endeavor to indicate the influence of each upon the specific theme under investigation. That this part of our study deals with

a most complicated situation is very evident. The field is wide and the factors numerous. We shall deal with the five which appear to contain the gist of the matter.

1. *Slavery*.—Many assert that amalgamation is in large measure, if not wholly, due to slavery. This is true, but not quite in the sense that the assertion is usually understood. Slavery is responsible, not on account of the abuses existing under cover of the system, but largely because of the fact that but for its existence few negroes would have found their way to the Western Hemisphere. Left to his own initiative, probably not a single negro would have reached America earlier than 1800, and very few would have come since that time. But for the existence of slavery, the various countries of Europe would have been drawn upon for laborers, thus relieving congested conditions in that part of the Old World and furnishing the New with a population composite indeed, but of homogeneous origin and containing no unassimilable elements.

Except for that absolute control made possible by slavery, no one would have cared to have the African savage for a laborer. Since the negro was to come at all, it was, perhaps, best for both races that he came as a slave. This relation to the white race insured protection and a measure of industrial training. A mass of “raw heathen”—of the African type—brought to this country and set at liberty without preliminary

education and a measure of industrial training would have proved disastrous to both races, or led to the extermination of the African—a fate befalling the Indian, who is, in many respects, superior to the negro. It is my conviction that could the negro have been introduced direct from Africa as a free laborer moral conditions would have been infinitely worse than they were under slavery. At best, as free laborers, during the necessary period of abject tutelage, the position of the negroes could not have been other than that of a degraded serf class.

If we may credit the reports of those who have traveled in Africa recently, it is certain that the African lost nothing of real value by the exchange of a barbarism brutally barbarous for enforced contact with a civilization infinitely superior to anything in his native jungles.

It has been said that in his native haunts the negro is "nonmoral," in the sense of being without a moral code, rather than immoral, in the sense of transgressing accepted rules of righteousness. This characteristic has not been wholly lost. After a careful study of the racial instincts of the negro, I am convinced that, after two hundred and forty years of contact between the white race and the number of African slaves not as slaves but as a degraded serf class, amalgamation in 1860 would have been found far in excess of thirteen and two-tenths per cent.

For sixty years little has been said of the educative value of this period of tutelage. Yet, in the midst of the heat of passion incident to the Civil War, the North enfranchised the negro, thus perhaps unconsciously, certainly unintentionally, paying a very high tribute to the efficiency of the system under which he had received his training. In the face of this practical tribute, paid at a time when the North was none too kindly disposed to the South, scathing denunciation of either the system of slavery or of the slaveholders personally seems strangely inconsistent. Justice demands that a system be judged not by its accidents or abuses but by its effects as a whole. Personally, I do not believe that the negro of 1865 was prepared for unrestricted freedom. I am confident that the franchise, bestowed as it was, proved a curse rather than a blessing to the negro in the earlier years of his freedom. That the ill effects of both were not more serious is due wholly to the transformation wrought in the African savage under this much-abused system of slavery.

2. As the second factor in the problem of amalgamation, I place *the manner* of his emancipation and the wild chaos into which the Civil War, with his emancipation and enfranchisement, plunged the negro.

Under the régime of slavery the master possessed inquisitorial powers over the slave. There were "Legrees" among the slaveholders, and at the hands of

such men enough of cruelty was practiced. In "Legree" Mrs. Stowe has drawn the blackest type which the system of slavery made possible. Had he been a typical slaveholder, Reconstruction, as it was conducted, would have been pandemonium. The great majority of the slaves were not brutally treated, but came to take a feudal pride in the establishment to which they belonged, and of which they were an integral part.

Under normal conditions, the birth of a mulatto child brought a cloud upon the whole domestic establishment. With freedom came the removal of all restraint under circumstances involving great temptation. Our investigations, in contradiction to the census of 1870, show clearly that the evil we are now discussing received a decided impetus during and immediately succeeding the Civil War—especially during the period of occupation by the Union armies.

The reasons for this are not far to seek. It was a period of demoralization. Plantation discipline was destroyed never to be restored. Responsibility for the moral conduct of the negro was no longer felt by his late masters. Every abuse of freedom by the negro, and every mistake made by him, could easily be regarded by his former masters as a vindication of their course in attempting to hold him in servitude. To the average negro mind the distinction between liberty and license has never been clearly defined. The "Army of

Occupation" had in it an element of professional soldiery, largely foreign, and many Americans who had little to recall them to their homes. These had experienced the demoralizing influences of camp life. The "Army of Conquest" was composed largely of native Americans of the higher type who at the close of actual hostilities marched proudly to their homes, leaving the South, now crushed and helpless, at the mercy of the "carpetbagger." This difference in the personnel of the two armies explains much of the evil of the Reconstruction period.

Another factor, exceedingly potent in producing the disorders of this unhappy period, was the large number of men of questionable character who followed the Union armies "for revenue only." These found, in the general disorganization and demoralization existing in the South, a rare opportunity to enrich themselves. The ignorance and inexperience of the negro, together with his inability to distinguish between those who had fought in his behalf and those who would now prey upon him, made it easy for unprincipled men to deceive and cheat him in numberless ways, as well as to use him as a means of furthering their iniquitous schemes. The Civil War had destroyed the established social order, creating the necessity for a transition which would have been very difficult even under the most favorable circumstances, but which, in the midst of such chaotic conditions, could not be made

without blunders and crimes. It is not strange that, among the evil results of such a situation, amalgamation holds so prominent a place. The worst of the two races was in contact, while morals were at the lowest ebb and moral restraints conspicuous chiefly for their absence.

Bearing directly upon this feature of the race problem, we have the statement of a mulatto, himself a soldier in the Union army and an eyewitness of much that he describes. His statement, omitting the most repulsive part of it, is as follows:

“. . . It may have been the outcroppings of gratitude to Federal victors or reckless abandon to lust, but the exciting cause is immaterial so long as the shameful fact is true that, wherever our armies were quartered in the South, the negro women flocked to their camps for infamous riot with the white soldiery. All occupied cities, suburban rendezvous, and rural bivouacs bore witness to the mad havoc daily wrought in black womanhood by our citizen soldiery. . . . Nor do we doubt that the present lax morality everywhere observable among negro womenkind is largely due to the licentious freedom which the war engendered among them. Slavery had its blighting evils, but also its wholesome restraints.” (“The American Negro,” Thomas, p. 14.) *

Revolting as this statement is, it is not, perhaps, overdrawn. Slavery, as compared with conditions in

the African jungles, had imposed a semblance of morality—often by virtue of the lash. Contact with the Caucasian had given at least the fundamentals of an ethical code, but, as the nature of the results shows, neither the discipline of slavery nor contact with a higher civilization had worked any deep or abiding racial regeneration.

When forcible restraint, such as slavery involved, is suddenly removed by outside influences as opposed to the achievement of liberty by the oppressed, a reaction usually follows, as is evidenced by conditions obtaining in England during the "Restoration" following the death of Oliver Cromwell, and by other historic examples involving races higher in the scale of development than the negro. Many a negro who remained true and loyal throughout the period of actual hostilities, when released from all the restraints and the discipline of slavery, inclined to lapse into semibarbarism, restrained only by fear of bodily harm. We quote again:

"The removal of physical restraint by the emancipation of the freedmen has offensively brought into prominent activity the vulgar, self-asserting, leveling instincts previously latent in negro nature, which have since developed into supreme contempt for orderly living." ("The American Negro," Thomas, p. 423.)

In the face of such utter abandon, both industrial and moral, on the part of so large a class of negroes,

the "Ku Klux Klan," or some other effective means of restraint, became absolutely necessary. Certain it is that the result of the demoralization of this period was the destruction of much that had been gained under slavery in the way of industrial and moral training. This is especially noticeable among negroes who spent the formative period of life in these surroundings, making between the ante- and the post-bellum type of negro a contrast that is not, in many respects, creditable to the latter. It is usual to consider the Southern people as the chief sufferers during the years immediately succeeding the Civil War. That they did suffer terribly cannot be denied. Their sufferings, however, were not such as to destroy character, but were largely due to financial losses, physical privations, the humiliations incident to defeat, and to the loss of relatives and friends who had fallen in battle. On the other hand, this was a time of rejoicing for the negroes, many of whom, in their wild abandon, threw away industry and all restraint, while the situation called into destructive activity those racial characteristics which are the greatest foes of the negro.

3. Another factor entering into this general result, one which has not received the attention which it deserves, was the temporary alienation arising between the negro and the Southern people as a result of the experiences of the Reconstruction period. We speak of this alienation as temporary, although there are in-

dications that, while it is latent, it does still exist in a more or less acute form.

It was exceedingly unfortunate for the negro that, at a time when he was most in need of sympathetic guidance, he found himself a "bone of contention" between two parties embittered by a recent and horribly bloody civil strife. The situation demanded the highest type of men and the wisest statesmanship of both sections of the country. Instead of this, both men and measures put forward were frequently such as to humiliate the South unnecessarily, and to arouse the bitterest antagonisms, in the face of which the more conservative element throughout the entire country was all but helpless. If the conservative element at the North could have controlled the situation both in Congress and in the South, results would have been different.

The course pursued by the negro was perfectly natural. He looked upon the North as the source of his redemption, and as a region from which he might expect unlimited benefits. The North promised much, and these promises were grossly exaggerated by the childish simplicity of the negro and by designing men whose interest in the negro was measured by the amount of money to be filched from him or through him. Almost every plan proposed to, or by, the Freedmen's Bureau was distorted into a means of robbing the negro of his earnings. The most effective of these,

perhaps, was the promise of "forty acres and a mule," *provided* a fabulous price was paid for the "authorized" red-white-and-blue stakes with which to mark off the boundaries of the land.

Another direct result of this estrangement has, we think, been hurtful to the negro. The policy pursued by the Northern Churches caused the South, in large measure, to withdraw from the field, leaving the religious instruction of the negro to the North. Too often those undertaking this work, while actuated by the purest motives, have had wrong conceptions both of the negro and his environment. After forty years of effort to give the negro a classical education, saner ideals are now coming to prevail. The gravest objection to the presence of the Northern missionary teacher lay not so much in the impracticability of his aims and of his methods of instruction as in his practical attitude toward fundamental moral and ethical principles—as shown in his attitude toward the mulatto—and in the further fact that his presence led Southern Christians to withdraw largely from the fields which he entered, thus largely destroying the bond of religious sympathy between the better element of the negroes and of the Southern people. Even at the present time there is not that widespread personal interest in the religious welfare of the negro shown by Southern Christians which should exist. The various Churches of

the South, while manifesting a disposition to reënter the field, are doing relatively little for the negro.

Earlier in the past century there was a commendable zeal shown by these Churches—especially the Methodist Churches—in behalf of the slaves. In spite of the agitation against slavery and the ill-advised course of a few preachers, who created discontent among the slaves, thus giving occasion for deep anxiety on the part of the masters, this work was continued until the breaking out of the Civil War, and even later. It was often the privilege of the slave to attend the same Church and to enjoy the same religious ministrations as his master. Southern Christians now respond willingly and liberally to calls for men and money for foreign fields, but seem slow to resume a responsibility of which they were relieved by conditions in 1865-70. Many seem to regard themselves as having been relieved of all responsibility in reference to the negro, even though he is, and must remain, a next-door neighbor. In many instances both the disposition on the part of the Southern people to assist the negro in religious matters, and the willingness of the negro to receive such assistance from them, have been destroyed. It is exceedingly unfortunate for both races that the bond of religious sympathy between them is so weak. It is an encouraging feature of the situation that, at the present time, antagonisms are, at this particular point, less acute than formerly, while Northern Chris-

tians now show little disposition to perpetuate a state of affairs which can prove helpful to no one of the three parties interested. As illustrative of the change now taking place we note that it once involved severe censure from his own people for a Southern man to have anything to do with the administration of funds contributed by the North for the benefit of the negro. This is no longer the case, while instances are no longer rare in which Northern philanthropists have sought to enlist representative Southern men in the administration of their princely benefactions to the negro.

The lack of a sympathetic understanding between the better class of each of the races where these are in close contact has made the race problem painfully acute at times. Spasmodic outbursts, however, are insignificant as compared to that settled temper of the two races which is revealed by these outbreaks, and its evil effects upon the moral and ethical standards of the negro race. The natural consequence of a third party, distant yet seeking to act as an arbiter between two parties in close personal contact, especially when such interference assumes the form of a quasi guardianship of one of the parties, is a "race solidarity" which, on the part of the negro, often leads to a sympathy for criminals and a hiding of their crimes very destructive alike to good citizenship and to personal character. On the part of the white race it sometimes leads to indiscriminate condemnation of the whole negro

race as being on the moral plane of the criminals thus shielded.

4. Among the causes leading to the amalgamation of the races none is more important than the universal failure, in the case of the negro, to recognize the same moral and ethical standards as are accepted for the guidance of other races. The struggle before the negro race is not so much to preserve a recognized moral standard as it is first to create that standard. When others release the negro from moral restrictions, it is not strange that he himself disregards them.

Criminal laws can reach only a few of the most serious offenses against the social order. Society, however, has an unwritten code and extrajudicial penalties by which that code is enforced. If it be true that the criminal code of any people is an index to the character of their civilization, it is also true that this unwritten code expresses what is deeper than all else—the personal character of the people.

No fact is more quickly seen by one undertaking a study of the moral features of the negro problem than that this unwritten code is practically wanting, and that, with a large class of negroes, no very high moral standard exists. Those extrajudicial penalties by which a healthful social organism reforms—or eliminates—offending members are almost unknown. Thus it is that the sympathies of the negroes are so universally with the criminal class, and that punishment for

crime so often makes a negro a hero in the estimation of his race—especially if that punishment be by public hanging. Hence it is that social impurity among the negroes does not often involve severe reprobation. Even bastardy usually results in very little, if any, loss of standing with members of this race. The following incidents may prove of interest at this point:

I was once a member of the grand jury of a Southern county. A number of negroes came before that body and presented evidence upon which they asked for the indictment of a large number of their race for social impurity. Upon investigation, it was found that the number of offenders was so large that it was impossible to punish all; so true bills were returned against a few of the most prominent offenders. This is one of the few instances coming under my personal observation in which the better element of the negro race has sought to correct those of the “baser sort.”

Another instance falling under my personal observation may be taken as illustrating the attitude of very many of the Southern people. The attention of a Southern gentleman was called to the fact that a mulatto woman who was living on his premises and cooking for his family was living in open adultery. His answer was: “We cannot be responsible for the morals of the negroes.”

I was once in conversation with a lady who for years has been connected with a leading American

university. In discussing the fact that a student had entered that university who had but a slight trace of negro blood in his veins, she expressed some surprise that his presence should have been resented by any one when he was "*so nearly white* that it was *very* difficult to tell that he had *any trace* of negro blood." Very few of the Northern or Western people with whom I have discussed the race problem have any conception of what unblushing transgressions of the moral code lurk behind such cases. My friend in this statement was typical of her section, for we have heard no voice raised and seen no word written calling attention to the true import of the situation. On the other hand, the activities of the North and West, as expressed in politics, philanthropic benefactions, and religious institutions, all ignore the distinction between the negro and the mixed races.

Race prejudice, in some of its forms, is morally wrong; yet this sentiment may be so directed as to prove very helpful to the negro. It should be so directed—and *strengthened*—as to tone up the morals of both races and to lead each race to ostracize those of its members who offend against the social order. It is this failure to apply, in the case of the negro, the moral standard which we accept for our own guidance which, because of its influence upon the ideals of the negro, constitutes the most discouraging feature of the negro problem. There is urgent need for agita-

tion. Only when the situation is fully understood may we hope to see healthful moral conditions prevail.

That correct moral ideals do not now prevail is not wholly the fault of the negro. Let it be remembered that he came to America out of a barbarism brutally barbarous and in which ethical distinctions were almost unknown. Slavery is not calculated to instill the higher virtues. Elsewhere will be found a discussion of what the institution of slavery actually accomplished for the negro race.

Whatever the merits, or demerits, of American slavery, it is certain that the earlier years of freedom brought opportunities to the North which were not improved. This was a period of transition. The negro, in gratitude for his freedom, was largely prepared to accept the ideals and standards of his new friends and liberators had these been adapted to his understanding and enforced by example as well as by precept. Here was an opportunity to have given the race proper moral, social, and religious ideals. Instead of this its moral lapses were practically commended, and the standards of the slavery period were consequently lowered.

It is not possible, therefore, for one section of our country to shift the responsibility for the evils of the present situation to the other. Both North and South have made serious mistakes, the effects of which must now remain. To impugn the motives of either section

is unnecessary and unprofitable, if not unjust. It is, however, utterly impossible to deal candidly with the situation, as I am given to see it, without calling attention to some facts and conditions which must be condemned. What is here said may be construed as an attack upon institutions and policies generally considered as unfriendly to the South. Some may even feel that what is here said is an attack upon the negro race. I prefer to regard this part of the volume as an attempt to call attention to certain abuses which, for the good of both races, should be corrected. Certainly it is not my intention to call in question the motives of those at the North who have contributed liberally to the support of missionary and philanthropic enterprises among the negroes, nor to underestimate anything that has been done. The amount of money contributed annually and the number of men and women who devote their lives to this work give ample proof, were proof needed, of the sincerity of those engaged in this work and of the existence of a widespread interest in the welfare of the negro.

The ground of criticism lies, not in the motives of those actually engaged in this work, or of those supporting them, but rather in the fact that, in their work, the fundamental principles of morality have been, not theoretically, not intentionally, yet practically ignored. I shall endeavor to show how this has been done. For convenience of treatment I shall now take up the

three agencies through which the activities of the North in behalf of the negro have found organized expression—viz., Government, Philanthropy, and Religion. In the United States there is very little of philanthropic activity which does not spring from religion, so the distinction between these two, although necessary, cannot be very marked.

(a) *Government*.—We take the position that the national government has thrown the weight of its influence upon the wrong side of this question. This has been done, and is now done, through the distribution of patronage at the disposal of the victorious party.

As a general thing, the mulatto dominates the political organization of the negroes. He is, therefore, in position to control the share of patronage falling to the negro race. Whether it be on account of superior ability or for some other reason, it is true that nearly all government positions set apart for the negro race fall to him. What per cent of the negroes employed by the government in all capacities are really mulattoes is not known. If the reader will observe closely, he will find, however, that the ratio is very high, and that, except where manual labor is required, full-blooded negroes are practically not employed at all.

Perhaps the most hurtful instances of the practice of appointing mulattoes to public office are to be found in the Postal Service and in such other positions as bring them prominently before large num-

bers of negroes. The possibilities of such a situation are suggested by a case which came under my own observation. It is that of a mulatto whose mother, a full-blooded negress, was well known in the town of which the son became postmaster. No one questioned the ability of the mulatto to perform the duties of the position, and, as a matter of fact, little cause of complaint was given. His administration of the office compares favorably with that of white men in the same office at other times.

When this appointment was first contemplated, a determined effort was made to prevent it, prominent men representing the party in power at the time doing all that they could to secure a different result, but in vain. The local and State party organizations had indorsed the mulatto, and he was appointed. This case is of special interest because it is typical of a large class of appointments made throughout the South since the Civil War. This man has held the office fourteen of the past eighteen years. It is interesting to note that, in my investigation of conditions obtaining in the negro public schools of this town, the ratio of mulatto to total attendance was found to be higher than in any other public school investigated—64+ per cent.

In such cases it is common to attribute any objections that may be made to the unwillingness of the Southern people to have the negro placed over them

in any official capacity. It is not claimed that even a Southern community always bases its objections to such an appointment on high moral grounds. Yet the moral issues are understood, and the better element of the Southern people does deplore the situation on account of its effect upon the negro. It is disgusting and humiliating to any community, North or South, not dead to all sense of morality and virtue, to have the national government thus represented in its midst. It is not race pride or prejudice alone, but these re-enforced by fundamental moral considerations, which causes the deep resentment on the part of the Southern people that such a class of men should be placed over them in any possible way. The popular attitude toward such a state of affairs, North or South, may be taken as an indication of the moral sentiment existing in a given community. This sentiment the national government has no right to disregard; certainly none to outrage it.

In such a case as this, we are accustomed to sympathize with the white people of the community involved. We naturally class such appointments as a species of tyranny, and as utterly inconsistent with the principles upon which our government is founded. When all that concerns the white race has been expressed in the strongest possible manner, it still remains true that the negro is the chief sufferer. As is the case with the mind of a child, so with the average

negro an object lesson is worth far more than any amount of abstract discussion. When such object lessons are constantly before their eyes, it is not strange that ethical sanctions suffer. In writing these words the motive prompting them is certainly not wholly unfriendly to the negro. I believe that I am pleading for his highest interests when I insist upon the same recognition of, and regard for, moral considerations that is shown by the government in its dealings with the white race.

(b) *Philanthropy*.—Northern philanthropy, as far as it may be distinguished from distinctively religious activities, finds its chief expression in the maintenance of educational institutions for the benefit of the negroes of the South. By far the greater number of these institutions are the property of, or are controlled by, Churches; so that what is here said will apply to all such schools.

Attention has already been called to conditions obtaining in the negro public schools of the South. It would be exceedingly difficult to control the situation in these schools, yet something may certainly be gained by exercising greater care in the selection of teachers and by a more efficient supervision of these schools. The State is under obligation to furnish educational advantages to all. Already burdened by the necessity of maintaining schools for two races, the Southern States are unable to make any separate provision for

a third (mixed) race. With those schools founded and supported by private philanthropy, the case is different. These are at liberty to select their students. They are, therefore, in position to make a stand for the highest ethical and social ideals.

As before stated, it has not been my privilege to gather statistics in reference to conditions obtaining in the schools and colleges maintained by the North for the benefit of the Southern negro. It is certain, however, that in all of these institutions a very large per cent of the students, often of the faculty, are of mixed blood.

The following digression may be pardoned on account of its value as illustrating the point under discussion:

The late Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, city missionary of the Wesleyans, and whose field of labor was in East London, once visited a Southern city in which are located some of the largest and wealthiest of the institutions of which we speak.

The work to which Mr. Hughes gave the best part of his life brought him into close personal contact with all classes of people and afforded rare opportunities for sociological study and investigation. That he was eminently qualified for the responsible position to which his Church assigned him is fully shown by the length of time he was, by the judgment of his

brethren, retained in this class of work, and by the unusual success which attended his efforts.

Dr. Hughes was not a man who could be indifferent to anything relating to the welfare of humanity. Before him, in his work in cosmopolitan London, he had a miniature world. To a man of his deep piety, tender sympathies, and buoyant type of Christian faith, such work would necessarily lead to a broader conception of the needs of humanity than usually comes to those ministers of the gospel who are called to serve congregations representing no great contrasts of race or of social stratification. The consuming zeal for missions exhibited by him was no less the product of his own field of labor than of his thorough consecration to the work of the ministry.

The direction in which the missionary zeal of the English Christians finds practical expression is, in part, determined by the conquests of the arms of the country. At the time of his visit to America, England was extending her holdings in Africa. This fact made the problem of bringing the native negroes under the influence of Christianity an all-important one for the evangelical and missionary forces of the home country.

When men are to enter a new field, they naturally turn to those who have had experience in the same, or a similar, field of activity for the practical knowledge so much needed to prevent serious mistakes from being repeated. Naturally, Englishmen would

look to America for a practical demonstration of the best methods to be followed. Here, for more than two hundred years, the white and the black races had been intimately associated as master and servant, a relation involving oversight and discipline for the negro. For more than thirty years the negro had been clothed with full freedom and civil rights, and had enjoyed privileges and opportunities greater, perhaps, than have ever fallen to his lot elsewhere. Friends had given freely of time and means, establishing schools, and taking into their own hands the training of those who were designed to become the leaders of the race in its future career. Mr. Hughes was not predisposed in favor of the South.

Naturally, one would turn to the strongest of the schools, founded and maintained, as well as operated, by the friends of such a race, for the best expression of their efforts in its behalf, and for the best fruits of such efforts. Mr. Hughes gladly availed himself of the opportunity to visit these schools and to study their methods, as well as the results achieved by them.

He found gathered in the halls of these institutions, not the negro—the African in whom he was so deeply interested—but largely a mixed race representing the negro as modified by the infusion of the blood of almost every other race. As “college circles” he found more than one “exclusive aristocracy” into which few full-blooded negroes gained admission.

By reason of his acquaintance with social conditions elsewhere, and being free from that blinding effect produced by lifelong familiarity with a given situation, he comprehended at a glance the meaning of conditions which, by reason of their familiarity, no longer impressed others. Later, he expressed the keenest disappointment at what he saw. His conception of mission work was not to foster and dignify a social condition contrary to the teachings of Scripture and subversive of good morals, but to preserve the negro race intact and to assist it in reaching, intact, the highest plane of civilization and religious development of which it is capable. Not amalgamation, but independent development, should be the destiny of the negro, whether in America or in Africa. The highest interests of both races will be best conserved by the two races being kept separate and distinct. It was a report of this visit of Mr. Hughes which first led me to undertake a study of this feature of the negro problem.

(c) *Religion*.—The missionary efforts of all the Churches in behalf of the negro are, we think, open to the same criticism as is here made of the activities of the government and of the philanthropists. So far as we have been able to ascertain, no religious organization, North or South, makes any distinction between the negro and the mulatto.

Without inquiry into family history, mulattoes are

employed as teachers and as preachers. The result is what might be expected. The mulatto avails himself of the opportunities offered. What type of morality can he inculcate? Will not every success achieved and every honor won by a mulatto react unfavorably upon the negro? If the reader will take the pains to ascertain the complexion of the ministry of any of the religious organizations of the negroes, he will find that where the negro is weakest the least effort has been made in his behalf, and that the moral and regenerating forces of Christianity have been largely neutralized by the object lessons thus furnished. Religion should give a healthful moral atmosphere, as well as correct moral ideals. Otherwise, what is built with one hand is torn down by the other. Certainly religion should not vie with political parties for the first place as patron, if not promoter, of social impurity. Here, as elsewhere, patronage must be considered as a practical indorsement.

I have no disposition to embarrass any rightly directed effort to uplift the negro race. I am, however, convinced that serious mistakes have been made in the past, and are still being made, and that the interests of both races demand that such changes shall be made in our dealings with the negro race as shall hold it rigidly to the same moral and ethical standards as are applied in the case of other races. In our judgment of the moral lapses of the negro race, there is call for

abounding charity. In the exercise of that charity in the past we have vitiated the moral standard of the race, robbed Christianity itself largely of its moral and regenerating power for the race, and have left but little to furnish that imperative incentive to right-living of which the whole race stands so much in need. With the moral and ethical standards practically suspended in the case of the negro by those who attempt to conduct his education and religious training, it is not strange that the negro himself suspends them whenever it suits his convenience to do so. With mongrels as its political leaders, as the teachers of its youth, and in its pulpits, we see no hope whatever of any marked improvement or moral uplift in the character of the race.

We have thought best, in our treatment of the negro problem, to avoid all effort to picture the degradation of the lower class of the negroes. We have seen conditions the bare recital of which would sicken the heart. The severest arraignment of negro character that we have seen is that by Thomas in his book, "The American Negro," Chapters VII. and VIII., dealing respectively with "Moral Lapses" and "Criminal Instincts." Here will be found sweeping assertions, and details of depravity sufficiently disgusting to excite horror. Nowhere have we found a more realistic portrayal of the sins of the negro, or a darker estimate of his character. While not disposed to commit the

injustice of judging a whole race by its worst representatives, and while convinced that the situation loses nothing of its horror at the hands of the writer referred to above, we know that there is a terribly real basis of fact for such assertions. The saddest feature of the whole situation, the feature which makes the situation all but hopeless, grows out of this almost universal suspension of moral and ethical standards in so far as the negro race is concerned.

It would be an easy matter to fill page after page with such examples as would make the above contention appear just. That some of the worst representatives of the race are intimately associated with its Churches and its religious interests is generally believed by those whose opportunities for observation have been widest. It is true that with the negro, to a greater extent than is the case with any other race under Christian influences, religion is divorced from conduct. One author, in his estimate of the religious nature of the negro, has called attention to the prevalent craving of the race for excitement—physical sensation as well as emotional dissipation. Such excitement, gratified to the full, does not necessarily strengthen character. Its effect is not essentially different whether produced by the physical exertions of the dervish or by a certain style of religious exercises sometimes practiced by the negroes. I have seen the "Holy Dance" performed at a negro camp meeting. It is a form of physical exer-

cise in connection with singing and shoutings well calculated to produce that ecstatic state which seems to be the highest conception that very many negroes have of religion. In such exercises it appears that, instead of first complying with those conditions which make the emotional element of religion the natural overflow of a full heart, they seek the emotional independent of its legitimate conditions.

This characteristic of the negro race makes it all the more necessary that those details of right-living which may be safely left to the individual conscience in other races should, with the majority of the negro race, be explicitly taught both by precept and example, especially the latter, since the negro learns more from being "shown how" once than from being "told how" many times. In our discussion of the moral phases of the negro problem, especially amalgamation, and in the criticism made of the failure to hold the race to a high standard of morals by rigid, even harsh, disapprobation of its moral lapses, we consider the readiness with which the negro acquires by imitation as of fundamental importance in determining the methods which should be used. Surrendering himself to sensation, and to emotion founded upon external excitement, rather than seeking that calmer, deeper spiritual joy springing from a transformed life, it is not strange that the religion of the negro easily degenerates into frenzied emotionalism, in which some of the basest

representatives of the race join heartily without the least moral regeneration resulting from such participation. We do not question the sincerity of the race as a whole, nor that of many of the offenders themselves. Infinitely more culpable than the negro himself are those, North and South, who have, in matters vital alike to character and godliness, vitiated his ideals by tacitly accepting and practically approving his moral lapses instead of impressing, by practical disapprobation of their breach, fundamental moral principles.

Thus the influences radiating from our political, philanthropic, and religious institutions unite in forming a subtle, but constant, menace to negro character. Too much is charged to "race and previous condition of servitude." These are often treated as though they were amply sufficient to excuse all the wrongs of which the race is guilty. Thus its whole ethical code, primitive enough at best, is vitiated, religion becomes, for it, painfully near to being "nonmoral," and the great body of the race loses the elevating effect of an almost compulsory effort to realize high moral ideals in daily living. A practical result of this condition is that, while abandoned women of other races rarely profane the estate of motherhood by becoming mothers, those of the negro race do frequently become mothers, and it is seldom the case that either mother or child loses anything in social standing or in oppor-

tunities in life as a result of this breach of the moral law. This brings us to consider the last of the five causes which seem to us to be most effective in promoting the amalgamation of the races—viz.:

5. A desire on the part of negro motherhood to better the condition of their offspring. It is not claimed that this desire is always present, nor that the influences mentioned above are always positive, or that they are consciously felt and followed in every case of bastardy, although this is undoubtedly true in an increasing per cent of such cases. Thomas, from whose book we have already quoted, has this to say upon this point:

"That negroes have a conscious sense of degradation, which they falsely attribute to their color, is shown by their eagerness to get as far as possible away from black shades. It is this craving for a light color and better hair for their offspring which is responsible for many of the illegitimate children of negro motherhood." ("The American Negro," Thomas, p. 408.)

It will be noted that Thomas here places the incentive on the basis of the physical characteristics of the offspring—color, hair, etc. I am certain that other considerations are present, and that beyond mere physical characteristics negro motherhood is beginning to see possibilities before children of mixed blood which are denied to those of pure African descent.

While the above statement is certainly true, it is also true that those forces and influences which exist as subconscious motive, and find their expression in habitual action rather than in occasional reasoned incident, are to be regarded as the real springs of human action. Hence, the importance of pure social ideals, of those extrajudicial penalties by means of which society purifies itself, and of even the least important of those influences which quicken the public conscience and elevate the standard of social as well as of individual morality.

In a problem of this nature it is very difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the exact extent to which a given consideration does influence even an individual case, while the task of measuring the effect of any given influence upon collective masses is almost impossible. It is sufficient that we shall be able to read aright certain tendencies, and that we shall be able to anticipate these tendencies by being able to assign them to certain definite elements of the situation to which they stand in the relation of effect to cause. Personally, I am convinced that those factors most influential in effecting moral retrogression are not recognized at all in their earlier stages, so subtle is their working. We see a definite effect in character. To what shall it be assigned? Moral depravity and moral retrogression may be due to any one of innumerable causes, and are so commonly in evidence that, without

careful analysis of individual cases, only the most general conclusions can be reached. When, however, there is any marked similarity displayed in the effect, there is good reason to suspect a common cause. Such is the case with the negro race. I am disposed to say that, in an unwise zeal for the individual, certain fundamental principles of morals and of social ethics have been ignored. The effect of this is both direct and indirect—direct because of its influence in lowering the standard of actual attainment, and indirect because of its effect upon the ideals upon which all attainment must rest.

I have carefully noted everything coming under my observation indicating that the negroes themselves either understand the situation or are influenced by it. I have found several cases of negroes who have a clear conception of the situation and who deeply resent the prominence of the mulatto. I am also convinced that there are cases in which negro women deliberately choose bastard mulatto children rather than legitimate negro children, believing that the prospects in life of the former are better than those of full-blooded negro children. With very many negro women two facts may be safely assumed—viz., bastard origin of itself will in no way prejudice the social interests of the child, nor will disregard of social conventions prove in any way detrimental to the standing of the mother either with her own or with the white race. On the

other hand, examples are relatively abundant in which the mulatto has far outstripped the negro in those fields where success depends largely upon social good will. The heart may pity the social outcast, but no humanitarian sentiment should lead to the relaxation of those safeguards in whose defense vicious members of society are made to suffer for their wrongs. Failure to observe moral distinctions and to enforce social safeguards is usually followed by a general lowering of moral standards, and this is the condition obtaining with a large part of the negro race at the present time.

It may seem harsh to put the illegitimate child of either race, considered individually, under social ban. He is a victim of, rather than an offender against, the social order. Yet, both human and divine laws recognize the fact that he cannot be dealt with as an individual. Even in the best-established society the bastard represents a class exceedingly subversive of the social order. How much more so with a race just emerging from barbarism through servitude! That a Christian nation should place before negro motherhood even the least incentive to wrongdoing is certainly not to be expected! Yet, I submit, such has been the case in these United States for the past forty years!

III.

In the preceding discussion we have necessarily anticipated much that should be treated under this

division. In seeking to point out those conditions and influences which have produced present results, we have necessarily dealt with those conditions and influences which are, at the present time, injurious to the morals and to the ethical ideals of the negro race. Indeed, there are few, if any, factors which have entered into the problem in the past which have not, in some form, persisted into the present, many of those most hurtful being now more acute than ever before.

The fact that no voice has been heard against the evils of the present, and that the country seems to have settled down to a tacit acceptance of present conditions, is far from being a hopeful feature of the situation. During the period of antislavery agitation much was said of the moral phases of the negro problem. There can be no doubt that the presence of the negro has exercised an unfavorable influence over the moral perception of the entire nation. Some features of the situation are now not so acute as they once were, yet the moral feature is quite as ominous as ever. Like a wound which, while healthy nerves are laid bare, produces excruciating pain, but, with time and decay of nerve and tissue, while filling every vein with its virus, yet loses the power to produce acute pain, so the moral features of the negro problem are not now regarded as acute because of the deadening effect exercised upon the public conscience. At no time has the menace of the "mulatto problem" been so serious as it is to-day,

yet this feature of the negro problem has settled into one of moral putrefaction while, by reason of its conscience-benumbing influences, its true import is not recognized. There is a close analogy between the effect of a narcotic numbing the nerve system of the individual body and the vitiation of the moral and ethical standards of a race. The suspension of moral and ethical principles, in so far as the negro is concerned, by those who attempt to assist him, lies at the basis of the errors now being made in dealing with the negro, and constitutes, in its various manifestations, by far the most hurtful feature of the present situation and the most discouraging feature in reference to the future of both races. The interests of society, North and South, black and white, demand that the public awake, revise its classifications, and arouse to the wrong being done the negro, as well as our own race, by allowing a class neither white nor black to pose as negroes and to monopolize so much that is intended for the negro.

The presence of the mulatto in such large numbers constitutes an exceedingly embarrassing feature in any effort to deal with the negro problem.

In my study of this whole subject I have availed myself of every opportunity to get the views of representative men who, by education and training, as well as by local associations and political affiliations, would

be inclined to take the opposite view to that natural to a Southern man. My mind is so constituted that it is more effectively active in debate than in meditation, and I am under obligation to many friends for modifications of both thought and conclusions which, had I not been aided by their thought-provoking inquiries and friendly dissent from my propositions, might not have occurred to me. Among those especially helpful in this respect is a minister whose life has been largely spent in the West—part of the time in immediate contact with the rougher element of frontier life. A man of warm sympathies and kindly heart, he found his thoughts constantly reverting to the mulatto. While accepting each detail of my contention concerning the actual situation—the extent to which amalgamation has gone, the vitiation of the moral standard of the negro race by the very forces which should raise that standard, the identity of interest of the white and the black races as relates to amalgamation—he still found himself unwilling to accept the logical results in so far as the mulatto is affected unfavorably. Under his searching questions I realized that, while my conclusions are constructive in so far as the white and the black races are concerned, I have no definite suggestions to offer as to the future of the mulatto. The census of 1890 shows 1,132,060 of this class against 584,049 in 1870, an increase of almost one hundred per cent in the short space of twenty years. There

are now nearly or quite 2,000,000 mulattoes in the United States.

In dealing with this number of human beings, however subversive of the social order, however much of a menace they may be both to the white and to the black races, no step can be taken which will at all tend to correct the evils of the present situation which will not, in a measure, degrade the mulatto and curtail his opportunities. The conflict of the interests of man—the collective whole—with those of men—the individual units composing the whole—is nowhere more real. In deciding between these conflicting interests, the principle of “the greatest good to the greatest number” should prevail. Apart from the white race, so vitally involved, we should remember that the negroes, who are really the greatest sufferers, outnumber the mulattoes perhaps five to one.

My friend fairly represents the attitude of very many people at the North who regard the wrong as having been done already, and who attribute it to the institution of slavery. That slavery is largely responsible cannot be denied; yet, according to the census of 1860, amalgamation had during two hundred and forty years of slavery reached thirteen and two-tenths per cent of the negro population—slave and free—or, in actual numbers, 588,363, of which number 78,548 were in the free States. During the thirty years intervening between the enumeration of 1860 and that

of 1890, the ratio of mulatto to total negro population increased to fifteen and two-tenths per cent, or, in actual numbers, to 1,132,060, of which number 210,665 were in the originally free States and Territories. If we accept as trustworthy the results of the census of 1870, the situation is even more startling, showing that amalgamation has made as great progress, numerically, in twenty years of freedom as in two hundred and forty-five years of slavery—the four years of the Civil War included—and the first five years of freedom added. It is quite evident, therefore, that the evil has been rendered very acute by the removal of restraint, and that something more than sectional recrimination is necessary if present tendencies are to be checked. These figures are sufficient to warrant whatever discriminations may be found necessary in controlling the situation.

Instead of the wrong having been done in the past, as so many would have us believe, and only its legitimate increase persisting into the present, largely through the attitude of the white race—and largely its better representatives at that—the initial increment, due wholly to lawlessness, is now larger than ever, and the situation has now reached a point where the mulatto is rather proud to acknowledge his shame; and not only does he suffer no discrimination on account of his origin, but he is even treated as the best representative of the negro race.

One of the most serious mistakes made in dealing with the mulatto problem has arisen from the extreme individualism shown. We are well aware that to object to individualism anywhere is to protest against much that is best in the modern, as opposed to the ancient, social order. On the one hand stand fixedness of social rank and limitation to certain spheres of activity, as in the caste system of some of the Eastern peoples. That the caste system, whether based upon birth, property, or race, even in the modified form in which it exists in our own country, crushes many possibilities and elevates some very inferior men to stations where their own merits would never have placed them, is certainly true. On the other hand are those who, accepting Voltaire's dictum—"An honest citizen needs no grandfather"—would set aside all moral and social safeguards and ask only with regard to the character and ability of the individual. "Free love" and kindred social abominations are the legitimate fruitage of such theories.

Full recognition of personal merit and full scope for the employment of personal ability are demanded by what is best in twentieth century ideals. In the economic world there is a healthful revolt against monopoly because of its power to limit the possibilities of the individual. Socialism is but one form of this revolt. There is a similar, though not as yet so well-defined, revolt against the tendency of the wealthier

class to surround the various institutions of learning with artificial and expensive social customs, thus either driving away poorer students or depriving them largely of that social discipline and training which counts for so much in practical life. With this marked tendency to revolt against a situation which, among the youth of our own race, often brings the decisive moment of the contest in that period of life when both experience and maturity of judgment are wanting, and when character is made or marred by influences scarcely perceived at the time, it is to be expected that those who advocate the interests of humanity as opposed to those of individuals will find the instinctive sympathies of very many against them. When, therefore, we insist upon a racial solidarity that denies to a class of people numbering near two millions what we tenaciously hold in respect to our own race, and what we willingly concede to members of the negro race, theoretically at least, we are at a decided disadvantage. When origin, not individual character and ability, though ever so rarely of high order, is made the criterion, there must be good and sufficient reason for doing so. We have already given a sufficiently clear statement of the moral grounds upon which we base our contention, as well as of the dangers threatening both races arising largely from the suspension of moral and ethical principles in our dealing with the mulatto and with the negro race. It is sufficient, at this point, to say that

present conditions all encourage the negro to seek release from his racial limitations by ultimate escape from the race itself, instead of leading him to raise the standing of the race by honorable achievement. This truth is of the highest importance, and, with various modifications, is frequently reiterated in this volume.

The attitude here assumed toward the mulatto becomes infinitely stronger, and yet more embarrassing when we come to consider the relatively small number of mulattoes possessing unusual ability and having to their credit achievements of which any one might well be proud. The number of representatives of the negro race who, being of pure negro stock, have achieved results that are worthy of note is painfully small. The fundamental moral principles involved and the inevitable reaction upon the moral standards of the negro race resulting from the suspension of these principles should settle the case in so far as mulattoes of extraordinary ability are concerned. The very small number of such cases and the weighty considerations involved for both races should leave no doubt as to the necessity for sufficient discrimination being shown to prevent the destruction of all moral distinctions on the part of the negro race.

Of the difficulties in the way of carrying out the course of action which is clearly demanded by the interests of both races, we are fully aware. Too much of theory has entered into all the discussions of the

negro problem. In our study and investigations we have endeavored to reduce all abstractions to typical concrete cases. In the study of this feature of the problem one such case is constantly in mind. It is that of a young mulatto who proved himself true to every trust—competent and skillful in his work, kind, cheerful, and accommodating under all circumstances. What of him? What future should open to him? What doors should be closed? How apply the ethical standard in his case? He is what he is through no fault of his own. He is a victim of the wrongs of others rather than an offender against social safeguards or against ethical standards. We cannot forget, however, that he is not only a man, but that he also holds a place in the social organism, and that, even in the best-established society, the bastard represents a class exceedingly subversive of the social order. In the case of a people but recently snatched from barbarism and but yesterday emerging from slavery no opportunity to impress ethical principles should be allowed to pass unimproved. However harsh it may seem to put the illegitimate child of either race under social ban when considered individually, yet both human and divine laws recognize the fact that he cannot be dealt with on his individual merits without endangering the most sacred interests of society. In this case, we should recognize the fact that the ideals and the ethical standards of a race are in peril. Be-

hind the mulattoes stand a much larger number of negroes. When we remember that the negro has been called upon to create his ideals rather than to maintain an inherited standard, it is evident that, when ethical standards are set aside and their self-evident disregard practically commended, the effect upon the race can but be evil and exceedingly hurtful. In the light of these considerations we are driven to the conviction, frequently expressed in this volume, that it is the failure to apply, in the case of the negro race, those ethical—not to say religious—principles to which we ourselves cling so tenaciously that makes the mulatto problem so acute and the case of the negro all but hopeless.

A comparatively small number of mulattoes achieve success of so decided a nature as to bring them very prominently—and favorably—before the public, and to make them, for this reason, a decided menace to the entire negro race.

There is, however, another side to the mulatto problem. Students of the negro problem must admit that the point of contact of the two races in amalgamation is the lowest stratum of each race, considered from a moral standpoint. Intermarriage of the races is prohibited in many of the States, and is not generally practiced in those States which interpose no legal barrier. The presumption is, therefore, that the mulatto

is himself of illegitimate birth, or that this is true of some link in his immediate ancestry. Here we have the gist of the negro problem.

The influence of such an origin must prove hurtful in proportion to the moral and the intellectual sensibilities of the individuals involved, and to the healthful soundness of moral sentiment prevailing in both races. The infusion of white blood carries with it a measure of the characteristics of the white race—usually of that despicable element of the white race involved. Yet such infusion does usually carry with it intellectual powers inferior indeed to those of the white race, but superior to those of the pure negro. The most conservative estimates, based upon careful scientific investigations, place the average brain weight of the negro at about seven per cent less than that of the white race, conservative estimates varying from seven to fifteen per cent. Naturally, we should expect amalgamation to produce a brain weight—indicating intellectual possibilities—between that of the two races involved. Such is undoubtedly the case, and it is further true that the infusion of white blood frequently carries with it ambitions and an outlook upon life to which the full-blooded negro is a stranger.

There is, therefore, a measure of the ambition of the white race without the possibility of any general realization of that ambition. This necessarily involves discouragement for those mulattoes who seek to rise.

There is also the incubus of "the iniquities of the fathers" visited "upon the children" in the natural order of heredity. This usually exhibits itself in a more or less marked lack of physical robustness if not in a class of diseases incident to the character of the parents. The mongrel is certainly shorter-lived than either the white or the black. A more serious feature, however, is the innate depravity with which such children must begin life and the usual lack of corrective discipline and restraint during the formative period of their lives. The character of the father—usually a white man—may be dismissed in the latter connection, for the father usually contributes nothing to the rearing of such children. The character of the mother, indicated all too clearly by the color of the children, utterly unfits her to have the care and training of children. Lastly, there is the necessary social disadvantage inhering in such origin—a disadvantage which gains force and bitterness in proportion as humanity at large comes to the fuller realization of ideal social conditions and the employment of saner means of realizing such conditions.

I am convinced that many lives are blighted by these conditions, and that, with the better understanding of present conditions, their hurtfulness must be intensified. The situation is especially hurtful to those whose ambitions have been aroused and who seek to struggle upward. The mulattoes—very few, comparatively—

who achieve success and become examples worthy of emulation are not to be compared to that very large number who sink beneath their heritage of discouragements due to unrealized hopes and ambitions; to depravity and physical weaknesses incident to the character of their parentage, and, in a less degree, to the legitimate—nay, absolutely necessary—efforts of society to maintain adequate safeguards. All that heredity involves is certainly against the mulatto. All that environment involves is largely so.

Pathetic as may be the position of the mulatto, the American people cannot afford to allow this feature of the negro problem to be settled by blind forces. It cannot be left to the "logic of events." Each day sees the problem of the amalgamation of the races assume more serious proportions.

By all his natural endowments and racial characteristics the negro is, and should remain, an unassimilable element in our population. Except as unbridled passion has overridden moral and social safeguards, amalgamation has not taken place in the past; nor can it occur in future except in plain disregard of the teachings of science and in open defiance of those fundamental moral and ethical principles the disregard of which soon vitiates social ideals and destroys the foundations of personal character.

The distribution of the mulatto also constitutes an interesting feature of the present study. That the

mulatto finds in the North and West a situation more congenial to his tastes and, perhaps, more favorable to his ambition ultimately to escape from the negro race through amalgamation than is offered by the South, can scarcely be questioned. My own observation leads me to conclude that the full-blooded negro thrives better in the South, where opportunities still exist suited to his characteristic endowments. The interests of the mulatto, however, certainly point him to the North and to the West, and he is entering these sections in large numbers. In these sections of the country his color does not hinder him so seriously—less than if he were black—while here he may follow his bent with less of hindrance than in the South. As yet, few in the North or West appreciate the meaning of his color.

It cannot be said, however, that the South, as a whole, has taken any higher ground in reference to the moral and ethical principles involved than have other sections of the country, although the situation must be better understood by the Southern people. The North is a more inviting field for the mulatto than is the South for economic and social reasons, rather than for any moral considerations present in either section.

The plea which we would make for the negro is in reference to his home life. The HOME is the bulwark of our civilization. The color of the mulatto indi-

cates a transgression of those laws, both civil and divine, by which alone the sanctity of the home can be preserved.

History affords two interesting and instructive studies bearing directly upon the principles involved in the case of the negro race in that they are the records of two widely separated peoples struggling upward into national life and developing the best traits of national and religious character yet attained by any peoples.

The descendants of the Germanic tribes point with pardonable pride to those passages from the hand of Tacitus in which he sets forth the high ideals of chastity and the domestic virtues found among these tribes. The harsh punishments inflicted by tribal authority upon offenders against their primitive social order have a profound significance. It is, of course, possible that Tacitus may have sought to rebuke the profligacy and immorality of his time by attributing to savage tribes virtues wanting in polite Rome. The history of the German tribes and of their descendants, however, leads us to believe that the observant pagan scholar states only facts, and that in the popular character of pagan Germany there existed a solid foundation upon which Christianity might build. The Germans of to-day, and all those peoples descended from the old German stock, are debtors not only to Christianity but also to the characteristics of their pagan ancestry.

The most perfect historical illustration of those principles for which we contend is to be found in the case of the Hebrew people. Although now possessed of character and intellect of the highest order, there was a period in their evolution when they needed every possible help in their struggle for moral improvement. The laws imposed show clearly that Egyptian bondage had left a deep impression upon even this "chosen" people. It is both interesting and instructive to note how much of the code of Leviticus and Deuteronomy was evidently designed to create an elementary ethical consciousness, as it deals with the simplest distinctions between right and wrong. We have here the case of a people descending low in the moral scale and, under divine guidance, led upward toward the realization of the highest moral and ethical principles. We have too long regarded this part of the Bible as apart from practical life—a revelation of the spiritual as distinguished from the temporal interests of humanity. Really it deals with both.

Among the laws given for the guidance of this people, we find the following: "A BASTARD shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord; even to his tenth generation shall he not enter into the congregation of the Lord." (Deut. xxiii. 2.) This probably means that a bastard was to be excluded from the nation; it certainly means that both he *and his descendants* were to be excluded from the religious festivals and from

mingling with the congregations in public worship. The record of the national life of the Hebrew people is an excellent commentary upon this passage, showing, as it does, a close connection between fidelity to Jehovah and the sanctity of their homes: apostasy being usually followed by a cheapening of their domestic ties and reformation usually involving a purification of the home life as a condition of the return to Jehovah.

Modern civilization offers no substitute for personal chastity and none for pure homes. The moral problems confronting the Hebrew people just emerging from bondage were, in many respects, similar to those confronting the negro in 1865. Could the negro, during the forty years following his emancipation, have been protected as wisely as were the Hebrews, the race problem would now be much more simple than it is, and the negro race would now be upon a decidedly higher plane morally. If it be objected that we can make no comparison between the two situations because of the inherent differences of the two races, it is well to remember that, by so much as the negro is inferior, by so much the more was this protection necessary in his case.

The pagan philosopher was able to recognize the elements of strength in the social ideals of the primitive German tribes. He also points out the inherent weakness of Rome when he shows how weak marital bonds

had come to be and how social corruption had permeated the homes of the Imperial City.¹

Christians will, however, find their ultimate word in the example of the Hebrews. Jehovah himself, through the inspired lawgivers and prophets, has here given his estimate of the sanctity of the home and of the marital relation.

What shall we say, then, of those who, under the Christian Dispensation, in their dealings with a race at best "backward in development" if not inherently inferior, seek to improve that race yet practically ignore these lessons from the past? Can we expect a race, thought by some to be lacking in moral perception and by others to be inherently weak in moral qualities, to make progress along the line of independent development so long as a superior race, arrogating so much to itself, treats the mongrel as the best representative of that race? so long as a mad individualism, seeking to "give every man a fair chance," in the interests of the mongrel, overrides the moral and ethical safeguards affecting two races? Again we repeat that it is the failure to apply, in the case of the negro race, those moral and ethical principles which, in our dealings with our own race, we recognize and enforce, that makes the case of the negro all but hopeless.

¹See "Agricola et Germania."

There are at present in the United States several movements which commend themselves to the better judgment of all our people. Two of these refer directly to our home life. We should like to see a third movement started—one that would revolutionize our present methods of dealing with the negro race.

Sound moral sentiment throughout the entire nation approves the attitude of the United States government toward Mormonism. No man can be an ideal citizen who is under oath to give precedence to the claims of any organization whenever its schemes bring it into conflict with the government. The real issue with Mormonism, however, grows out of the fact that, under the guise of religion, it attacks the home virtues which have made us strong. This is generally understood throughout the nation. The practical attitude of the government toward the moral phases of the negro problem is not so well understood. It is not quite consistent to deny political prerogatives to a man who publicly marries two or more women and acknowledges and supports them and their children, on the ground of protecting the morals of the people, yet throw the influence of government patronage—always implying indorsement—to men who cannot, perhaps, so much as name their fathers, and to whose support the father usually contributes only the price of a lustful debauch: to men whose origin, at a point more or less remote, defies all those restrictions which, in our

dealings with our own and all other races except the African, we recognize as the bulwark of both personal and national character. Is it right that, by government patronage and indiscriminate religious benefactions, an "aristocracy of shame" should be built up? Is it right that the innate sensual tendencies of negro womankind, already stronger than those of the women of any other race, should be reënforced by the prospect of improving the condition of the offspring by ignoring virtue? The action of the United States government in dealing with Mormonism constitutes a sufficient precedent to warrant all necessary discrimination in the case of the mulatto.

Sound moral sentiment throughout the whole country approves the efforts which are now being made to secure uniformity in the text and administration of the divorce laws of the several States. While wishing this and all other reform movements success, we hope that the day is not far distant when the negro will receive some measure of practical protection in his family relationship. Is it not true that when a mulatto is appointed to office a social condition is dignified which militates against the home life of the millions of negroes in America? Would any political party dare uphold any man who would assume such an attitude toward the purity of our own homes? There is no humane sentiment in one case which does not apply with equal force in the other. There is little danger, how-

ever, that the white race will ever surrender a standard which has strengthened with the centuries, even though governments and Churches should come to disregard that standard. With the negro it is the creation, rather than the preservation, of a moral standard which is at issue.

The only attempt to explain the present status of the amalgamation of the races on other than the grounds here indicated, which has fallen under my notice, is that by Mr. Thomas Nelson Page, who is inclined to take a more hopeful view of the situation. From his most excellent book, "The Negro: The Southerner's Problem," we quote as follows:

"It is not believed by those best acquainted with the subject that the solution of the race question will ever be along the lines of amalgamation. That there will be some intermixture is doubtless true; but unless all observations are erroneous, while the percentage of mulatto in the total negro population has increased, this increase is mainly due to the intermixture of the white with the mulatto, or of the mulatto with the pure negro, and the intermixture between the pure negro and the pure white is growing less all the time." (Page 290.)

My own studies and investigations have not prepared me to accept this conclusion. Results are, of necessity, cumulative. Many, however, are born of

negro women who show no trace of white blood. The question which arises here is whether or not the yearly initial increment is increasing or decreasing. In proportion to the whole number of mulatto children born annually this may seem small, yet, for various reasons, this initial increment is the determining factor in the problem of amalgamation.

There is no doubt that vicious white men find mulatto women more attractive than negro women. For this reason, as well as that the mulatto, in a special sense, inherits the depravity of both races, a very large number of mulatto women are sacrificed to the lust of the white race.

There is also a perceptible tendency on the part of mulattoes to intermarry. Comparatively few cases have come under my observation in which the mulatto is married to the full-blooded negro. Such cases are exceedingly rare among those mulattoes who have enjoyed educational advantages.

It is also true that the mulatto is, in a special sense, heir to those ills which accompany social vice. The "sins of the fathers" are visited upon this unfortunate class as a necessary and natural consequence of the usual character of the parents. Venereal diseases are frequently complicated by, or develop into, consumption, making the death rate of mulattoes high and exercising a correspondingly depressing influence upon the birth rate.

In spite of these considerations, and the well-known fecundity of the negro race, the ratio of mulatto to total negro population is steadily rising, and the problem of the amalgamation of the races becomes more acute with each passing year. What conditions may ultimately come to prevail in these United States is a question that may well fill our minds with gloomy forebodings.

The negro problem is not, primarily, one in the realm of economics. It is essentially a moral problem. It is reduced to this: Which is better, a mongrel race whose origin is in sin, and which represents the worst of all the races; or a race, whatever its limitations, yet true to its own racial peculiarities and striving to attain, intact, the best and highest of which it is capable?

The mulatto may be superior to the negro; he certainly is inferior to the Caucasian both in intellectual ability and physical vigor. At best, amalgamation can improve the negro only at the expense of the white race. Amalgamation is not, therefore, desirable on scientific grounds; it is revolting when considered in its ethical bearings. Before giving their approval to existing conditions, the people of the United States should ascertain what these conditions really are.

Our studies and investigations lead us to the conclusion that the philanthropic activities of individuals and Churches and the patronage of the government are be-

ing so directed as to constitute a menace to the virtue and to the home life of the negro. Not through lack of interest in, or deep concern for, the negro race, but largely through pity and through lack of discrimination, Politics, Philanthropy, and Religion, as now administered, are practically and effectively arrayed against the racial integrity of the negro.

CHAPTER II.

THE PROBLEM OF THE CITY.

ALL large cities have a “submerged tenth,” or a considerable number of inhabitants who, sometimes through misfortune or economic inefficiency, but often through moral degeneracy resulting from willful choice of evil or entailed by heredity, find themselves ultimately in the pitiable situation of this unfortunate class.

The slums of the cities are like the whirlpools of the great rivers in that they are always ready to draw in passing drift, but slow to release that once caught. There are influences surrounding the slums which tend to hold securely all victims once within their power. A man reared in such surroundings meets with but little encouragement when he knocks at the doors leading to a better order of things. Like the released convict, he finds that he is, by virtue of former associations, at a serious disadvantage in the estimation of those enjoying a better station in life. The rebuffs met with at the hands of the more fortunate members of society are, however, comparatively rare for the reason that the influences of the slums tend to destroy

all those elements of character which would prompt one to seek better conditions.

The tendency of this "submerged tenth" is to become a class apart from the rest of mankind—a class indifferent to its social station and recognizing no law which is not enforced by present penalties. Nowhere else may we find people of so depraved moral character as among those whose ancestors have for several generations been members of this class and suffered its deprivations. Fortunately for society at large, natural law, operating through epidemics and through all that brood of diseases which attends upon vice, dissipation, and a low standard of living, greatly reduces the number of children born to this heritage of degradation, so that the slums of the great cities tend to become the cesspools into which the coarser types of the moral delinquents of society find their way, rather than a self-perpetuating organism apart from decent society.

Sociological research has, within the past one hundred years, led to much study and much discussion of the conditions obtaining in the slums of all great cities, and almost all possible expedients have been exhausted in the effort to find a remedy for these conditions. The question now seems to be not so much how the slums shall be regulated and improved as why they should exist at all. The tendency at present is toward such laws and regulation of buildings, etc., as will virtually abolish the slum sections altogether.

London has, perhaps, led the way in this movement for better conditions for the very poor. The motives prompting this course upon the part of London are not wholly philanthropic, and the renovation of her slums has been found financially advantageous. By a policy of condemnation and demolition the old, dilapidated, unsanitary buildings, miserably poor in plan and construction, and contaminated by centuries of overcrowding and general disregard of health conditions, are replaced by model tenements embodying the latest improvements in architecture and sanitary appliances. Overcrowding is prohibited by laws enforced by effective police supervision. Courts, once the rendezvous of criminals, together with all public stairways and hallways, are well lighted, making it very difficult for criminals to escape detection. The streets, once narrow, crooked, and poorly drained, are widened, straightened, and provided with sanitary sewerage.

All this is, of course, done at great expense to the city, and no English city has been able to renovate all its slums at once. The interesting fact, however, in reference to the financial interests involved is that such renovation involves practically no ultimate financial loss to the cities. The property affected enhances in value and the income from taxation is increased. The people of the renovated sections are of a class that contributes to the commercial prosperity of the city and the nation. The hopelessly depraved and the criminals

find light and cleanliness uncongenial, and largely disappear from the renovated districts, greatly lessening the cost of police supervision. By far the most important result obtained by the destruction of the slums is the protection of children who would otherwise become criminals.

Such activities upon the part of the cities constitute a near approach to the practical doctrines of Socialism. England has, however, long ago recognized the fact that anything affecting the economic efficiency and the moral character of her people comes within the legitimate sphere of governmental control. In the almost perfect system of State supervision now in force in the factories and the mines of England, designed largely for the protection of the young, the English government stands fully committed to the policy of using every possible means to prevent the degradation of the poorer classes of the people.

Not only are such steps being taken in England, but the civilized world now recognizes the fact that children reared in the slums of the great cities, even when unhampered by racial limitations, do not have a fair chance in life. When it is remembered that the most important asset of nations lies not in quantity, but in quality; not in teeming millions of crude, unlettered, untrained, semibarbarians, but in the economic efficiency and moral fiber of the masses of the people—it is quite evident that there can be no degradation of the

individual citizen which does not affect the State as well as the whole social organism.

The temptations coming to the typical slum dweller are too numerous to mention. Those most prevalent, however, may be grouped under two general heads—viz., crimes committed against property, which are prompted largely by physical necessities; and crimes against chastity, committed largely through the fact that moral and ethical sanctions are disregarded with impunity, the transgressors being on a plane beneath the reach of those extrajudicial penalties by which a healthful social organism purifies and protects itself. As compared with other races, the negro seems to suffer most seriously from such a situation. He is slowest to learn to adapt himself to urban conditions and swiftest to fall into the snares and pitfalls of the slums.

As in all other races, there are distinct lines of cleavage in the negro race. Part are law-abiding and industrious. Such should be allowed the largest possible liberties; certainly they should be vexed by no unnecessary restrictions. Many are indifferent and unsettled, wavering between economic efficiency and inefficiency. Part, sometimes a large per cent of those found in the cities, are idle, dissipated, or vicious. No one who has studied the situation carefully will doubt for a moment that the majority of negroes find urban conditions decidedly unfavorable to the better elements

of character. The tendency is to drift into some undesirable part of a city which is usually given up to them and comes to be known as "Little Africa," "Black Bottom," or by some more expressive appellation. Here the tenements are of a mean and cheap type if new, or, if old, are usually the dilapidated homes of a class of people who have long since removed to a more congenial part of the city. Herded together under such conditions and without adequate police supervision, the negro race is assailed at its three weakest points: its industry, its honesty, and its chastity.

Socialistic agitation might take a helpful turn could the various governments be induced to take the oversight of this "submerged tenth" in all the large cities, determining how many can find legitimate employment in each city and distributing the excess throughout the agricultural districts or elsewhere in such places as labor is needed.

England, with the vast, undeveloped resources of the colonies waiting to be turned into commercial values, is awakening to the folly of allowing some millions of her people to remain in conditions destructive to both personal character and economic efficiency. As England led the way in factory reform, so now she seems to be leading the way in this matter of the supervision of the cities, and is distributing many of the poor from the overcrowded cities throughout the colonies where there are abundant opportunities for all. As the Eng-

lish cities are much older than those of the United States, we may learn much from their experiences.

Previous to 1800, little was done anywhere to control the development of cities. The introduction of machinery, transferring the manufacture of many commodities from the homes to large factories and bringing the laborers from scattered villages into the factory districts of the large cities, brought England, early in the past century, to face problems which called for the most careful study and the wisest handling. As was the case with the English cities, we may expect American cities to arouse to a realization of social conditions only when those conditions have become unbearable. How much better it would be if, warned by the experience of the older cities, we could avoid the mistakes they have made! Instead of being forced later to deal with a large class of "ineffectives," it now lies within the power of our States to take such steps as will largely prevent the further development of such a class.

The larger cities of the United States already contain a considerable number of white inhabitants who are members of this class. I am satisfied that every instance of degradation in any European city at the beginning of the past century may now be more than matched in horror by examples of degradation to be found among the negroes in our American cities. Nor is this degradation among the negroes confined to our

largest cities. There is scarcely a village in the South which does not furnish examples, while conditions in the smaller cities of the South are, in many instances, appalling.

Southern people are coming to see the results of present conditions, and in various States efforts are being made to reduce the number of negroes in the cities and towns by stringent vagrancy laws, as well as by other means. We cannot claim that the motive prompting such legislation is to be sought primarily in any special concern for the moral welfare of the negro. Two influences are at work. The cities are in peril as a result of the presence of so dangerous a class as the negro vagrant. Self-preservation, sooner or later, forces the citizens to control these, drastic measures usually following years of indifference. On the other hand, throughout the South there are vast areas of fertile land lying idle because of the lack of labor. There is, therefore, an effort on the part of the business interests of the whole section to hold the negro to that line of work for which he is best fitted.

The State of Mississippi has, perhaps, taken the lead in legislation designed to meet those conditions now existing throughout the South. The laws passed by this State are not the result of any sudden, ill-advised movement, but are largely a matter of experiment and growth. The large number of negroes in this State and the acuteness of the problems incident to their

presence forced the State to legislate for the control of the situation. As so much has been said in condemnation of the efforts of the Southern States to control the vagrant class of negroes, I add an appendix giving in full that part of the code of Mississippi dealing with vagrancy. (See Appendix "A.")

The chapter of the code of Mississippi dealing with vagrancy does not, in its present form, differ essentially from the corresponding chapters found in the codes of some other States. After carefully comparing the legislation of several of the older States bearing upon this subject, I find that the principles involved are the same in all, the most important divergencies being due to the endeavor to adapt the principles to local conditions. The completeness of the chapter on vagrancy usually depends upon the length of time a State has been organized, and the presence or absence of large cities. The new and sparsely settled States have relatively little trouble with vagrants. When, therefore, the code of such a State contains an elaborate chapter dealing with vagrancy, it is usually based upon, if not largely copied from, the codes of the older States. Among the States there is a commendable disposition on the part of all to profit by the experiments of each. This is as it should be, and will probably result in ultimate uniformity in the laws of the various States bearing upon this and other subjects of common interest.

It will be noted that the code of Mississippi, as of other States, does not mention the negro. Nor is the law applicable to him alone. There is no doubt, however, that it is the presence of the negro in such large numbers, together with certain marked developments of recent years affecting the negro race, that has forced this and other Southern States to legislate upon this subject. We notice, however, that the penalties inflicted for vagrancy by the Northern States are usually more severe than penalties for the same offense in the Southern States. This is especially true of the class of offenses usually committed by the negro. Laws are also, perhaps, more rigidly enforced in the North than is the case in the South. Although the statistics show that the ratio of negro criminals to total negro population in Massachusetts is decidedly higher than that of convicted negro criminals in Mississippi, I am satisfied that, if the laws of Mississippi could be rigidly enforced, these figures would be changed. Several cases of felony, involving from one to five years in the penitentiary, but which were not prosecuted at all, have come under my personal observation in that State.

The trend of legislation in the Southern States is now clearly toward such stringency in laws concerning vagrancy and such latitude in their application that, under their cover, all worthless, vicious negroes, and all criminals among them, may be driven from the towns and cities or kept at work, either voluntarily or as con-

victs, for the benefit of the public. These laws are not more stringent than corresponding laws of the Northern States. It is the character of the people against whom they must be enforced which gives the appearance of severity. As a matter of fact, such laws are usually a dead letter until conditions become such that it is necessary to enforce them. There are few complaints of persecution arising from their enforcement, for the cases involved are usually more of a menace to their own than to the white race. Under the general head of vagrancy it is possible for the State to reach and control an element of population which is extremely dangerous to social welfare. Hence the wide range of these laws and the great number of offenses that may be punished under them.

The feature, however, which is of the greatest interest to us in the present study is the value of such laws as a preventive of crime and degradation. They deal with a condition rather than with specific acts. With the negro character what it now is, under such conditions as the vagrancy laws of Mississippi seek to make impossible the negro is certain to become utterly worthless, if not a criminal of a type more or less dangerous to society. There is an old proverb which teaches that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." Wherever large numbers of vagrant and semi-vagrant negroes have been allowed to congregate, the same results have obtained. It is found very difficult

to enforce sanitary regulations among them, and they constitute a more or less serious menace to the health of the city or town. Epidemics usually originate among them. They are lawless, and the crimes they commit and the cost of police supervision rendered necessary by their presence make the cities eager to be rid of such citizens. They are not to be relied upon as laborers, as they show little or no concern for the interests of those who employ them. The following incident, which occurred at Nashville, Tenn., illustrates well this latter trait of negro character of the lower type:

Several steamboats were, on one occasion, at the wharves, the wharves were covered with freight, and the schedule time for the departure of the boats was past. The whistles sounded the call for labor repeatedly, but no laborers came. An appeal was made to the authorities, and a number of policemen were detailed to raid the dives located in "Black Bottom." All negroes found in these were given their choice between working on the boats or arrest for vagrancy, loitering in barrooms, etc. Quickly the boats were besieged by a crowd of negroes anxious to work. Now the wages paid for this class of work are, perhaps, double what is paid for ordinary labor, and the pay is sure. In this instance there could be no excuse given by the negroes except their disinclination to work. This incident illustrates the uncertainty of any investment which

is dependent upon negro labor of this type for its profits.

Another case was that of a negro who was hanged for the murder of a white sailor. When questioned concerning his motive in committing the murder, the negro said that during the preceding summer he had been forced to work for his living; that he did not intend to kill the sailor, but merely wished to injure him sufficiently to secure a jail sentence covering the approaching summer. Whether this was the real motive prompting the crime or not, it is interesting to note that a condemned murderer would give it as such.

It is my conviction, based upon some years of observation, both of the free vagrant and the same grade of negro under sentence in the Southern prisons, that corporal punishment is far more efficacious than any other penalty that may be inflicted for a long list of misdemeanors to which the lower class of negroes are prone. For such negroes the prison has no deterrent force except as this is derived from the certainty that, in the prison, rigid discipline will be enforced and work exacted—by the lash, if necessary.

I have given the chapter on vagrancy from the code of Mississippi (see Appendix "A") in full for two reasons. In the first place, it is well to know that this State is earnestly grappling with what is, at best, a very trying problem. Law books are inaccessible, and hence,

if for no other reason, are not widely read; so that few, even in this and other Southern States, will ever read the chapter from the code. It is vitally important that knowledge of the contents of this chapter shall become as general as possible. In the second place, the men composing the Legislature of this State have that practical knowledge of the negro race which can come only from close, personal contact. Few bodies of men are, therefore, so well fitted to take the lead in legislation of this class, for few bodies of men have so accurate knowledge of the needs of the negro race. I am satisfied that the method of dealing with the problems incident to the presence of the vagrant class of negroes, indicated in the chapter quoted, is the only one that can possibly meet the needs of the situation. It is also to be hoped that the marked improvement made in this chapter within recent years is only an earnest of what will be done in the near future. Every phase of the problem is being carefully studied. As the whole comes to be better understood, such steps will doubtless be taken as may be necessary to correct existing evils and to forestall evil tendencies as far as it lies in the power of legislative enactment to do so.

Of the sections of the chapter on vagrancy quoted in full (see Appendix "A"), paragraphs (a), (b), (c), and (d), Section I., are perhaps the most important, and are sufficiently comprehensive to cover almost any case that may arise. Taken as a whole, this section

places it within the power of any community in this State to rid itself of citizens dangerous to its moral welfare; certainly to prevent the worthless, thriftless, and criminal elements, of whatever color, from congregating in any given place, there to constitute a nucleus of crime and lawlessness sufficiently pernicious to destroy the economic efficiency, along with the moral character, of all who come under its influence. The interests of society, North and South, white and black, demand that the public shall awake to a realization of the conditions confronting us, and, in justice to the negro race, take such steps as shall forever make impossible conditions which now exist.

x Among those whose knowledge of the situation is such as to entitle them to speak, there is now a strong conviction that the future welfare of the negro race depends largely upon its return to the country and to agricultural pursuits. This is certainly true in reference to the vagrant and semi-vagrant class and to those negroes who, in the cities, although industrious and willing to work, are unable to secure steady employment and to earn wages sufficient to enable them to live comfortably and decently. The contrasts between the possibilities open to the negro in the city and in the country need to be noted. It is true that the cities, towns, and even villages offer better educational facilities than do the rural districts. The same is true in reference to children of the white race. The rural

schools for both races are usually sadly deficient, especially in the length of term actually taught each year.

As a basis for all else, physical support must be assured. Without this, it is not possible that any one can receive very great benefit from opportunities such as a city presents. Physical comforts have necessarily a decidedly close relation to character. Physical want, if long continued, is certain to entail severe temptations.

The low wages paid for domestic service throughout the South are wholly insufficient for the maintenance of a family. Nor is it always possible for a negro, no matter how industrious, to supplement his wages by other work. The low standard of efficiency characterizing the average negro domestic, or unskilled laborer, makes it impossible for him to command living wages, and necessarily lowers the wages of those who are efficient. In very many instances, when their work is considered, the wage is quite as much as it is worth, and, hence, as the employer can afford to pay; yet this wage is utterly insufficient to support a family in comfort, even though both father and mother are employed. The closest economy and the wisest expenditure are demanded, but there is no training in either economy or self-restraint, and the logical result of the situation is that the average negro finds himself unable, in the sharp competition of city life, to main-

tain himself in comfort by honorable means. Laboring under such difficulties and confronted by the further disadvantages incident to racial discrimination—a discrimination so far hurtful only to the negro—the possibilities open to the negro in the cities are quite meager, while the incitements and allurements to evil and the possibilities of degradation are very great.

The possibilities open to the negro in the country are somewhat circumscribed, but are within the reach of the negro of average intelligence and moderate industry. Land is cheap and, in many parts of the South, may be had under terms such that a man of thrift and industry can pay for a farm with the proceeds of crops grown upon it. This makes it possible for the negro to secure the first requisite to moral and intellectual advancement—a reasonably sure provision for temporal necessities.

On the other hand, wages paid for farm labor in the South are discouragingly low, and will probably continue so for an indefinite period. The homes provided by landowners for negro tenants and by those who hire negro labor are not what they should be. The one-room cabin is too much in evidence. The deficiencies of life are, of course, possible with an entire family in one room; but it cannot be said that there is anything in such a situation calculated to develop respect for orderly living upon the part of those who approach the situation not from a social atmosphere

where the decencies of life are the normal order, but where these are scarcely recognized. What is here said points out the most discouraging features of rural life among the negroes.

There is also very little in the rural situation at present calculated to inspire intellectual activities. The negroes, as a class, do not read. They are, therefore, largely shut up to acquisitions of knowledge by hearing and by what comes under their personal observation. For this reason they, more than any other class of people, need a discreet and competent Christian ministry, and the field of that ministry should include instruction in the practical affairs of life. There is a hopeful response, upon the part of many negroes, to sane efforts to help them to improve their temporal condition. If the ministry of the race were able to become, in a measure, its economic guides, great results might be accomplished, and such a course would not necessarily interfere with those duties of the ministry which relate to religion in the stricter sense. The negro needs to be taught "the gospel of getting on" comfortably.

The rural schools are also very deficient. It is not sufficient that the average negro child, coming from a home where the decencies of life are given none too prominent a place, shall be taught the same course of study prescribed for children of the white race. The negro school should seek to supplement the deficiencies

of the negro home. This is not done in town schools, so there is not a marked contrast in this respect. The contrast between the urban and the rural schools maintained for this race is largely that of longer terms, better equipment, and more efficient teachers, as opposed to short terms, no equipment, and poorly prepared teachers. (See chapter on "The Educational Problem.")

After all the disadvantages of the country have been duly considered and compared with those of the city, it still remains that the country offers possibilities and opportunities for the race to establish itself upon a sure foundation which are not found in the city, and that rural life is comparatively free from very many besetments incident to city life.

It has long been the custom in the cotton belt to lease land to the negroes, taking as rent a share of the crop, or a money rental secured by a lien upon the crop. Usually, in addition to leasing the land to the negro, the landlord either advances the supplies consumed by the negro while making the crop or becomes surety for him in order that he may secure the necessary supplies.

This system has some serious defects, but it is the only one that was found practicable for some time after the Civil War, and is the one still in general use. It has the merit, however, of throwing the negro partly

upon his own responsibility, and has done much to develop certain traits which would not have been developed if he had depended wholly upon others. It is, however, a system which is subject to many abuses. In most cases the negroes draw all that the merchants will advance, so that at the end of the year there is usually but little coming to them. Frequently, due to low price of cotton or to unfavorable crop conditions, renters find it very difficult to meet their obligations. It has also been found that unprincipled negroes will sometimes rent land, secure advances for making a crop, and then, because of unfavorable crop conditions, low prices, the offer of some one in need of labor, or through sheer wantonness, desert the crop altogether or so neglect it that it amounts to but little. This usually involves the loss of the supplies advanced by the merchant and of the rent due the land-owner. The situation is further complicated by the presence of a third class. The building of railroads and levees and the timber industry create a demand for labor during one-half of the year at wages higher than the farmers can afford to pay. The result of this situation was formerly that negroes were constantly leaving their employers or deserting their crops, in either case leaving the crops to be either imperfectly cultivated or lost entirely. Owing to scarcity of labor, such crops were frequently a total loss to all parties concerned.

The result of this feature of the situation was that those negroes known to be in the least unreliable found it very difficult to secure work at other than day labor. As no one could afford to trust them, they were usually unable to give bond that they would carry out their contracts and, in larger and larger numbers, they were coming to spend much of each year in idling around the towns, waiting for the season when other than agricultural work could be obtained. This state of affairs was very largely increasing the number of vagrants. After a time spent in the demoralizing atmosphere of the towns, it was not uncommon for a negro once industrious and thrifty to become a worthless vagrant.

Supplementary to the chapter on vagrancy, quoted in Appendix "A," is another in the code of Mississippi which has occasioned much comment and which, in some quarters, has been denounced even more vehemently. We here give two sections embodying the most important features of the legislation of this chapter. These sections are given at this point in order that the reader may have the whole field before him. They are—viz., Section 1068, Code of 1892:

"ENTICING SERVANT. If any person shall willfully interfere with, entice away, knowingly employ, or induce a laborer or renter who has contracted with a person for a specified time, to leave his employer or the leased premises before the expiration of his contract,

without the consent of the employer or landlord, he shall, upon conviction, be fined not less than \$25 nor more than \$100, and, in addition, shall be liable to the employer or landlord for double the amount of damage which he may have sustained by reason thereof."

In 1900 the latter part of this section was amended so as to read:

"And in addition shall be liable to the employer or landlord for all advances made by him to said renter or laborer by virtue of his contract with said renter or laborer, and for all damages which he may have sustained by reason thereof."

Laws of 1900, Chapter 101, Section 1:

"Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi, That any laborer, renter, or crop sharer who has contracted with another person for a specified time in writing, not exceeding one year, who shall leave his employer or the leased premises before the expiration of his contract without the consent of his employer or landlord, and makes a second contract without giving notice of the first to said second party, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be fined not exceeding \$50."

The sections here quoted are designed to supplement the chapter on vagrancy. It will be readily seen that they deal with a feature of the case which the chapter on vagrancy cannot reach. It is here sought to secure an economic stability and confidence which

cannot result from the character, standing, and trustworthiness of the negroes involved. Such laws are designed for the protection of agricultural interests, but are applicable to all contracts of this class.

Much has been said in condemnation of this and other efforts to control the labor problem. It has even been said that this legislation represents the nearest approach to the reenslavement of the negro which the United States government will permit. The two chapters—the one on vagrancy and the one from which the above-quoted sections are taken—are supplementary, but neither is oppressive to any honest, industrious man. Neither of the sections above quoted interferes with the liberty of the parties making the contract. In this respect the negro is quite as free as he has ever been. No contract of the nature here specified can be made for longer than one year. Objection to such laws grows largely out of the failure to recognize the inherent differences between individuals of the race. Unfortunately, there is, in certain quarters, a disposition to ignore all distinctions growing out of personal character and individual merit. With the class directly affected by such laws, the effect is altogether wholesome. With no property to pledge as a guarantee that they will carry out their contracts, and with no standing to lose as the result of such failure, no merchant or landowner or employer of labor can safely deal with them unless protected by some law

similar to the sections quoted above. Instead, therefore, of being oppressive, these laws do not affect honest negroes at all; while they make it possible for the less trustworthy class to secure employment of a nature calculated to prevent them from drifting into the towns and villages, there to swell the number of vagrants or semi-vagrants.

In the case of negroes living in the cities and towns the effect of the existence of such laws is highly beneficial, as it is among those in the rural districts. There are very few instances in which either the vagrancy or the contract laws are actually enforced. Their existence, with an occasional enforcement, is usually sufficient. Those who have declaimed against the contract laws as a new species of slavery have either based their opposition upon exceptional cases, or have not studied the situation with sufficient care and thoroughness to see what is really involved. The very small number of cases in which the law is actually invoked, and the very large number of renters and laborers to whom the contract laws apply, show that the mere existence of such laws, as in the case of vagrancy, goes far toward correcting the evils which called them into existence.

What has been said above suggests the answer to the question which naturally arises at this point—viz., What is to be done with the negroes driven from the cities and towns by stringent vagrancy laws?

There is work for every man, white or black, in the South. As long as there is a place for a negro to fill in the legitimate occupations of the cities, he will not be molested. It is, however, unjust both to the negro and to the entire country to allow him to degenerate into a vagrant, with the certainty that he will immediately become a criminal of a more or less dangerous type. Vagrancy laws, sufficiently stringent and fairly administered, do not and will not produce any large class of "unfortunate, persecuted freedmen, driven from place to place by a brutal constabulary, or made to wear their lives away at hard labor on rock piles, public highways, etc." Such laws, by preventing idleness, will also prevent the crimes waiting upon idleness; by preventing want will lessen the number of crimes prompted by physical necessities; by preventing congregating in vile tenements will, in part, prevent that low bestiality and gross immorality to which the baser element of the race, unrestrained, is so prone. Our plea here is essentially the same as in the chapter dealing with racial integrity. It is a plea for the possibility of a home and a home life for the negro. There is little hope of the ultimate success of any scheme of racial regeneration which does not begin with the family life and the family ties of the negro. Family ties scarcely exist among those negroes who are herded together in the slums of our cities, nor are conditions much if any better in some of the smaller villages.

It is worthy of note that the State of Mississippi not only proposes a desirable end but also followed good precedents in the manner chosen for dealing with the contract feature of the problem. The principle is the same as that involved in desertion from the army or navy, or when a sailor deserts his ship before the voyage is done. While the principle is given a new application, it is "breach of contract" at last which is punished. Why should not "signing the articles" for making a crop, or for any other undertaking involving capital and entailing loss if the conditions are not met, be put upon the same basis as "signing the articles" for a sea voyage? Are the agricultural interests of our country less important than its maritime interests?

The value of these two chapters of the code of Mississippi must necessarily depend upon the fidelity with which they are enforced. It is clearly evident that this State is grappling with a vital problem. It is further evident that no rash, ill-advised steps are being taken. Rather more of conservatism has been shown in dealing with the problem than is consistent with the interests of both races. Now that the practical value of such legislation has been demonstrated, we may reasonably expect that what has been accomplished already will prove but the foundation for further improvement in the code of Mississippi, and that other Southern States will soon profit by the example and experiments of this State.

The negro race has not yet, as a whole, reached a point where it may be trusted to provide for its own welfare. A comparatively small number of negroes may be able to do so, but the vast majority of the race must be given special protection and *must be controlled*, or an increasingly large number will fall below the normal of economic efficiency and will sink into deeper and deeper degradation, and, in proportion to their numbers, involve every interest of society in their ruin. In the control of the lower class of negroes, we really face a problem of self-preservation—not as yet a problem of individual preservation, but rather of racial preservation. The problem is not one of racial extinction, but of the preservation of those characteristics which make it worth while for a race to exist. Our own economic interests, our own moral welfare, our own racial integrity, depend ultimately very largely upon our ability to control, and thus to protect, the lower class of the negro race, as well as our ability to hold the entire race to a high moral standard.

The logical demands of the situation are for more stringent laws more rigidly enforced. It is a crime against humanity at large, and against the negro race in particular, for any city to permit conditions to exist such as are now to be found among the lower class of negroes in the cities of the United States. My limited observation convinces me that, in proportion to the number of negroes involved, conditions in many North-

ern cities are quite as bad as those existing in the larger Southern cities. Some restrictions are absolutely necessary. In my study of this feature of the negro problem, I have thought that it would be well could a permit from the city authorities be required of every negro who essays to live in a city or town, such permit to be issued only upon proof that the applicant has a "visible and known means of a fair, honest, and reputable livelihood," and to be revoked at any time when the conduct of the holder becomes such as to indicate that he is unworthy of, or is being injured by, the privilege of living in a city. The Southern States have been very slow to realize what is involved in this herding of the negroes in our cities.

Within recent years lawless outbreaks, provoked by conditions largely incident to the indiscriminate herding of negroes in our towns and cities, have become painfully frequent. The most serious feature of such a situation is the practical confession of the want of foresight upon the part of lawmakers, or the criminal remissness of those charged with administering the laws, in permitting such a state of affairs to develop as must ultimately call for drastic remedies. Mob rule is sometimes the expression of a much more healthful public conscience than can exist under undisturbed, lax administration of law. In the case we are here quoting, no one knowing what one hundred

and fifty negro men and women in a "negro tenderloin" district means to a small city will find it in their hearts to condemn very severely those who took part in this "remarkable city house-cleaning party." The greater wrong in all such cases lies with those who, through failure to provide adequate laws or through failure to enforce existing laws, permit conditions to develop which make extrajudicial proceedings seemingly necessary, and hence afford a show of justification for the mob. Personally, we have no very harsh word for any man whose disregard of law takes the form of purifying the moral atmosphere in which he must live and rear his family. It were infinitely better that a community should act through its legal officers and its courts. When these have failed, however, it sometimes seems almost necessary that a situation be dealt with by the citizens, even though such action confesses the failure of officers and courts. It is infinitely better that sufficient attention be given to the government of our cities and towns that no conditions be permitted to arise which can either call for or furnish the least justification for strenuous, extrajudicial handling. Within the past year two instances in which popular violence has dealt with situations which had grown unbearable have occurred, and these may be taken as furnishing the antithesis of the course of action suggested here.

The following clipping, taken from a Denver paper,

tells the story of how a community, after permitting a bad situation to develop, sought to rid itself of a dangerous class of citizens by drastic measures. The quotation is as follows:

"*New Orleans, July 15 [1906].*—The work of a remarkable city house-cleaning party which last night placed one hundred and fifty negro men and women on board a passenger train at Lake Charles, La., and shipped them out of the town and parish, is told to-night in the *Picayune*. They were placed on the same train with the body of a negro who last week shot and killed the city marshal of Jennings, La., and who subsequently died in jail at Lake Charles from wounds received while attempting to avoid arrest.

"Shortly before midnight the negro tenderloin, known as the 'Hole in the Wall,' was invaded by several hundred white men, including some members of the State militia on their way to the annual State encampment. The dispatch says:

" 'House after house was visited, and the inmates, not being given time to dress, were taken out and turned over to a guard. The motley group was marched under a guard of pistols to a water tank about a mile from town, a passenger train was stopped, the negroes put aboard, and their fares paid as far as the parish line, members of the guard riding that far with them.' "

Conditions in very many Southern towns would be

vastly improved were the example of Lake Charles followed in this respect.

The riots which occurred at Atlanta, Ga., September 22-24, 1906, undoubtedly constitute the most serious instance of race conflict which has occurred in the South for many years. As gathered from the press reports, the facts are about as follows:

Rioting began in a downtown section of the city Saturday evening, September 22, and continued until the following Monday. Negroes were attacked indiscriminately, many being injured and a considerable number killed. The city police force proved inadequate, and the fire department was called into play. This, however, only served to scatter the mob, thus spreading disorder into other parts of the city. When it was clear that the civil authorities were unable to control the situation, the State militia was called out, and a sufficient number of the State troops were massed at Atlanta to insure protection of life and property. Although nearly two days passed before the authorities were able to stop all violence, no very large number of men opposed the authorities later than Sunday evening, September 23. The number actually killed was not great, although quite a number were wounded.

The significance of the Atlanta riots should not be measured by the relatively small number of those of either race actually killed or wounded, but rather by the causes leading up to the outbreak and by the fact

that the crisis found the races arrayed against each other. It is true that the better element of the negroes took a sane view of the situation and are worthy of the highest commendation for having done so. There were also members of the white race who took the proper view of the situation and who did what they could to restrain violence. It remains true, however, that color was the dividing line, the mass of the white people being arrayed against the negroes as negroes, and the negroes, in so far as it was possible, were arrayed against the whites as such. Usually the fury of the white race, when aroused by the crimes of the negro, is directed against the criminal alone; but in this case, probably in part because the criminals could not be found, the fury of the mob found vent not upon the criminals but upon the race to which they belonged.

During the week ending September 22, 1906, an unusual number of atrocious crimes were committed by negroes in Atlanta and the immediate vicinity. John Temple Graves, as quoted by the *Cincinnati Enquirer* of September 24, gives this statement of the case:

“The Atlanta race riot is due to the cumulative provocation of a series of assaults by negroes upon white women, which, in number, in atrocity, and unspeakable audacity, are without parallel in the history of crimes among Southern negroes.

"There have been eleven assaults or attempted assaults within the past seven weeks. Of these fiends only four have been apprehended and seven have escaped scot-free and are now at large in the community. Eight of these assaults have been in broad daylight, and in most instances in the open air, within a stone's throw of other residences."

Four of these assaults, or attempted assaults, were committed Saturday, September 22, and were the immediate occasion of the outbreak. All the accounts we have seen which attempt to give the causes of the riot agree in the main with this statement of Mr. Graves.

It is impossible to read the various accounts of the Atlanta riots as given through the press without realizing that, to a surprising degree, a latent antagonism between the races already existed. To this antagonism may justly be referred something of the readiness with which the whites entered upon the attack on the negroes, as well as the nature of the rioting. To this, however, must be added the terrible nervous strain caused by the crimes already committed, and the paroxysm of fury caused by the announcement of four similar occurrences in a single day. It is well that the reader should dwell upon this situation long enough to be able to form some conception of the intense feeling of anxiety which such a series of crimes necessarily provoked, and of the situation when the announcement

of the fourth crime of the one day—September 22—set the crowds frantic with rage and “the riot was on.”

The details of this rioting are shocking, but are in no way essential to our purpose in referring to this unfortunate situation. However, just at the beginning of the matter, a mob may usually be depended upon to go too far. The situation in Atlanta serves a useful purpose in that it illustrates what may result in any city from neglect to control the baser element of the negro population. Unfortunate as such a record may be for the city where it occurred, these riots have served one practical purpose. The nation—especially the South—is now awake to the dangers incident to such conditions as existed in Atlanta. It was not a blind fury that turned the mob toward the “dives on Decatur Street.” Every one seemed instinctively to recognize these as the prolific source of racial degradation. Subsequent investigation disclosed the fact that many of the places used as resorts by the lower class of negroes, in addition to the usual demoralizing influences surrounding such places, were supplied with indecent pictures calculated, by suggestion, to prompt the very crimes actually committed. With a large number of negroes idle, worthless, depraved, living in open contempt for all decency and order and amid all possible incitements to crime, only one result can follow. Atlanta’s graver sin lies not in the rioting of September 22-24, but in the negligence which permitted condi-

tions to exist such as the rioting has disclosed. It is, however, unjust to single out this one city for censure, when there is not another in the whole country which is not open to criticism at the same point.

No race stands more in need of sympathetic helpfulness for its well-disposed members, and no race demands so urgently some power from without able to control its worthless members and to suppress all centers of dissipation established either by negroes or by that despicable class of white men who sometimes seek to profit by the degradation of the race. For the good of the negro, as well as of the white race, it is unwise to allow too much liberty where liberty can only mean license.

The presence of any large number of degraded and depraved citizens constitutes a serious menace to free institutions. In dealing with such a class, republican theories are subjected to a very severe strain. There is a logical demand, if not an absolute necessity, in dealing with such citizens, for the employment of methods more consistent with absolute than with republican principles. It is necessary to choose between effective police supervision—often to be secured only through the espionage of detective agencies—and an abandonment of a large class of negroes to influences which, in their practical workings, are necessarily cumulative and intensify not only the evils of the situation, but that racial antagonism from which acts of

violence usually spring. It is infinitely better that our cities should adopt a system of espionage more thorough and more rigorous than is practiced by those of any of the countries of the Old World rather than that such economic inefficiency and such moral degradation as are shown to have existed in Atlanta be permitted to obtain anywhere. Depravity is contagious. If permitted among the negroes, it will certainly react upon the white race, working untold harm among the young of all classes, and especially among the lower order of the whites.

Sooner or later the South will be forced to take whatever steps may be found necessary to drive from the towns and cities just this same idle, worthless, vicious, depraved class of negroes which caused the trouble in Atlanta. What is to become of those already ruined by such conditions as existed in Atlanta, we do not undertake to say. They are wanted nowhere. It is, however, a crime against humanity to allow present conditions to continue, and the number with whom it will be necessary to deal positively, if not severely, in order to reform them, is increasing at a rapid rate. The earlier the problem is taken in hand with such vigor as to control absolutely—or to crush utterly—this element of the race, the easier it will be for all parties concerned, and the less of suffering will be necessary for the negroes involved. With the type of character being developed under present conditions,

these negroes must be controlled or grave consequences will follow.

The Lake Charles incident and the Atlanta riots are alike revolutionary in character. They are, however, the logical consequence of failure to deal with the situation in its earlier stages. We fear that the example of these two communities may be followed by very many Southern towns and cities. There is no reason why any community should tolerate conditions now existing among this class of negroes. Could public sentiment and the public conscience be educated to the point where idle, vicious, immoral negroes would not be tolerated, and where every negro would be required to have a "visible and known means of a fair, honest, and reputable livelihood," there would be an immediate and decided improvement in the character of the race. Yet nothing should be left to mobs. However just the cause calling the mob into existence, excesses are almost certain to be committed by it. The mob also represents a single impulse rather than a settled policy or plan of action. The situation demands, not an occasional outburst of indignation, more or less righteous, but a policy of alert watchfulness which, keeping the situation well in hand, shall be able to prevent, rather than to punish, crime and degradation. These riots may be taken as indicating the possibilities of racial strife. They certainly indicate the temper which will be shown by the white race whenever sufficient

provocation is given. If law and order prevail ultimately, it can only be when, either through the elevation of the race or through efficient police supervision, such crimes as were the occasion of the trouble at Atlanta cease to occur and such utter moral abandon as was revealed in consequence of the rioting ceases to exist.

Fortunately for the South, the negro has been largely eliminated from local politics. For this reason, negroes in the Southern cities rarely become an important factor in municipal politics, those voting being, for the most part, the best representatives of the race and worthy of the trust committed to them. The vagrant and semi-vagrant class of negroes do not vote, and hence do not corrupt our municipal governments by means of the ballot. If there were two political parties in the South of nearly equal strength and the "balance of power" were held by the negro, the possibilities for political corruption, especially where an unrestricted suffrage was permitted, would be very great.

The one hopeful feature of the negro problem is that it is rapidly ceasing to be a sectional issue. Indeed, it is already a national issue in the sense that few sections of the country are not face to face with it as a social, as well as a political, issue. The theories once so confidently advanced for the guidance of others by those not in close, personal contact with the race must

soon be tried by the cities of the North in the crucible of first-hand experience.

Between the years 1860 and 1900, according to the census, the negroes who had located in other than the fourteen Southern States increased from 551,793 to 976,073. Since 1900 there has been a very decided movement of negroes to the North, especially during the years 1902-05, when many were taken to the larger cities, especially to Chicago, as strike breakers. No statement of the number or distribution of the negroes who have recently removed to the North can be had until the census of 1910 is taken. It is certain, however, that the negro population of the North is rapidly increasing, and it is highly probable that the race problem will soon become quite as acute in the Northern cities as it is in the South.

The negroes removing to the North are of two classes. Among them are some of the best representatives of the race, who seek opportunities and privileges not afforded by the South. Among them are also many whose conduct in the South has been such as to make a change of residence necessary. It is this latter class which will make the crime element of the situation very prominent and will bring the North to a more sympathetic regard for the South in bearing its disproportionately large share of "the white man's burden." Capitalists may encourage this movement for the sake of cheap labor, politicians may encourage it

for the sake of additional votes in doubtful wards. It is certain, however, to degrade the standard of living of the laboring class, and to corrupt politics wherever it assumes sufficient proportions. While fraught with serious consequences for the North, this movement will help the South. If it assumes sufficient proportions to unify the white race in its efforts to deal with the situation, the ultimate settlement of the race problem will be rendered much more hopeful. When the ease with which the negro may be manipulated by designing and unprincipled politicians comes to be understood in the North, the wisdom of the South in eliminating him from the political situation, as far as it was possible to do so, until such time as he becomes competent to act independently and intelligently, will be at least appreciated, if the example is not followed. When the "balance of power" in any city or State comes to be held by the negro, whose vote has rarely purified any political situation, it will be only a question of time until the white race will be, in that particular city or State, forced to act in concert. The political solidarity of the South is not a matter of choice. It is dictated by stern necessity.

The South is now coming to realize that there are problems incident to the gregarious instincts of the negroes which cannot be ignored. We urge the reader to study with great care the steps now being taken to correct existing evils and to hold the race to safe and

sane efforts to meet its pressing necessities, thus laying a foundation for future development and growth.

This chapter deals with that phase of the negro problem which we regard as next in importance to that treated in the chapter dealing with racial integrity. In the "Problem of the City" we have to deal with that element of the race which, surrounding itself with conditions insuring moral degradation and surrendering to its brutish instincts, falls below the plane of moral and regenerating influences. In the chapter on "Racial Integrity" we endeavor to set forth something of that suspension of moral and ethical principles and the consequent perversion of moral ideals with which those members of the race who seek to struggle upward are confronted. It is especially unfortunate that any inducement should be offered to any to seek to escape from the limitations of the race by ultimate escape from the race itself.

The two chapters, therefore, deal with two distinct classes calling for different treatment. The betterment of the one lies with those who are in position to control the political, the philanthropic, and the religious influences entering into the problem and to turn these to good account in producing healthful moral and social, not to say religious, ideals. The control of that degraded class which is becoming painfully prominent in the larger cities of the North, and throughout the cities and towns of the South, lies largely with the lo-

cal communities affected. That such a class now exists is largely chargeable to the lack of foresight upon the part of lawmakers and those charged with the administration of existing laws. To its control and ultimate elimination should be devoted the best energies of our people. So long as matters are allowed to drift, there may be—probably will be—numerous spasmodic outbreaks, but the process of degradation will continue unchecked.

Throughout this study I have purposely refrained from going into the details of negro criminology. In closing this chapter, however, it may be well to call attention to conditions existing in Denver, Colo. It was my privilege to spend the summer of 1906 in that city, and I took advantage of the opportunity to make a careful study of the situation existing there.¹

Theoretically, there is less discrimination against the negro in Denver than in any other city investigated. Negro children attend the same schools and enjoy the same privileges as the white children. There is no discrimination in the matter of public conveyances, although the hotels usually draw the color line sharply, being forced to do so or lose their Southern patronage, an item not to be despised or lightly thrown away.

¹For a statement of the relative number of mulattoes, see chapter on "Racial Integrity," page 31; also this chapter, page 140.

Negroes are also free to live in any part of the city, and a few are to be found scattered throughout the city. A negro family is not, however, cordially welcomed in any of the more desirable residence sections. The majority of them have found their way into two or three sections of the city, and it seems highly probable that these will, by common consent, be given up to them. The negroes, whether by their own choice or by necessity, maintain separate churches, very few of them worshiping with the white congregations. It was in this city that, for the first time, I saw a white woman who is legally married to a negro man.

Practically, there is very little difference between the personal attitude of the Northern and the Southern white toward the negro, especially where the former has been thrown into close, personal contact with any large number of negroes. I have been impressed with this fact repeatedly. The great mass of the Northern people do not wish the negro as a near neighbor. The race problem is destined to become very acute in many of the Northern cities, since the Northern people show no disposition to make allowances for, or to be indulgent to, the shortcomings of the race. The bitterest words I have heard against the negroes have been spoken by Northern people but recently thrown into close, personal contact with them.

The criminal propensities of the negroes of this city are becoming alarming. The population of Denver

and the immediate vicinity is about two hundred thousand. About eight thousand of this number are negroes or of negroid ancestry. These, therefore, compose about four per cent of the population.

During the four months spent in Denver I studied local conditions as carefully as possible, noting with special care any signs of improvement over conditions existing in the Southern cities. Here, as in the Southern cities, some are doing well and making useful citizens. There is, however, the same tendency to segregation as is shown in the Southern cities, and very many show the same contempt for orderly living as is noted elsewhere. All the tendencies so manifest among the lower class of negroes in the South are to be noted among the corresponding class in Denver. There are also evidences of a degree of racial solidarity not yet met with in the South. The clearest manifestation of this solidarity which came under my observation was in behalf of a negro killed by a white man, and took the form of a threat to cast the negro vote against a magistrate who had acquitted the white man, it being clearly shown that he acted in self-defense.

While conditions in Denver bear a strong resemblance to those in some of the Southern cities, there is a marked difference in the grade of crimes committed. From the first of May to the first of September, 1906, there were ten killings in Denver. Five of these, including the murder in cold blood of two po-

lice officers killed in the discharge of their duty, were the work of negroes. One negro was killed by a white man—who was acquitted because he acted in self-defense—so that we have four per cent of the population committing fifty per cent and involved in sixty per cent of all killings during this period. Ten negroes and eleven whites were involved.

This record is not sustained through any long period, but the negro commits vastly more than four per cent of the murders done in Denver. Of other crimes, he is credited with vastly more than four per cent, but he seems to become relatively less conspicuous upon the police records as we pass from murder, burglary, assault, etc., to the milder crimes and misdemeanors. This preëminence in crime is being noted, and is producing an effect unfavorable to the race as a whole. Here, as elsewhere, we note that the sympathy of the race is, to a large extent, with its criminals.

There are few American cities which afford a better field for the study of the future of the negro problem than does Denver. Many features here must soon confront the whole country. I am convinced that within the next fifty years the South will be forced to deal with the same conditions now confronting Denver, and that sheer numbers will very greatly increase the difficulties to be met. Denver now has to deal with about five thousand six hundred mulattoes and about two thousand four hundred negroes.

CHAPTER III.

SLAVERY.

THE earliest authentic records show clearly that, at the beginning of the historic period, slavery existed as a well-established social institution, handed down from that earlier age of which but little is known. Indeed, slavery seems to have prevailed so universally among the ancients as to occasion no comment. Nor was there anything in the ideals of the earlier historic period calculated to prompt any searching inquiry concerning the justice of the principles upon which the system of slavery rested, or concerning the rights of those held as slaves.

As the human race advanced in civilization but little was done to improve the condition of the servile class. Long after reasonably complete codes of law and semi-responsible governments had replaced the patriarchal and the absolute forms of government, the slave was left without adequate legal protection. The life of the slave was at the disposal of his master, and the commercial value represented by the slave was his chief protection against ill treatment. Even the Mosaic law makes a distinction between crimes committed against freemen and those committed against bondmen.

We must, however, bear in mind that the human race has slowly and painfully struggled upward, paying for every advance in civilization literally with its blood. The conception of human brotherhood is now almost two thousand years old. Its full realization is still to be attained, and seems to be among the possibilities only of the remotest future.

“Man’s inhumanity to man
 Makes countless thousands mourn,”

and will continue to do so for ages to come unless all the currents of secular modern life can be reversed. It is sufficient to note that there has been, and still is, a slow but sure approximation to higher ideals only to find that the ideal has outrun human attainment and still exists to stimulate to higher endeavor. For this reason it is well to use charity in dealing with the faults and wrongs of the past, not forgetting that the present, too, has its full share of customs and of theories that may justly excite the indignation or provoke the mirth of the antiquarian of the future.

Recognizing this evolution, we are prepared to deal justly with those of every age and station. Refusing to recognize it, even revelation itself becomes a confusing mass of seeming contradictions, approving at one time what is, later and under different conditions, positively condemned or left to perish in the presence of the moral and social conscience which revelation as a whole has created and fostered. There was a time

"when slavery touched no man's conscience," and when it was, perhaps, the best system that could have been devised. In the light of more recent developments, we may smile at the plea once made by eminent churchmen for negro slavery on the ground that it would prove the means of bringing the prospective slaves under Christian influences. Yet, while slavery was still a questionable experiment in the western hemisphere, many eminent churchmen did advocate it as a means of Christianizing the negroes. Only after the slave trade had become an international business and its consequences came to be demonstrated was any serious effort made to abolish it.

For convenience of treatment, we may, in the present study, divide the existence of slavery into three periods—viz.:

I. Ancient, closing with the beginning of the Christian era.

II. Mediæval, closing with the twelfth century, by which time slavery, involving legal ownership of the person of another, ceased to exist among the nations of Western Europe, and feudalism, in some respects a modified form of slavery, took its place.

III. Modern, which embraces the revival of slavery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the leading nations of Europe found the African negro an easy victim of their cupidity and avarice. Of slavery as it existed among the peoples of Asia, we shall have

little to say, except to compare the Mohammedan method of procuring slaves with that of the Europeans.

Our purpose is primarily to deal with the enslavement of the negro in the United States, and elsewhere only as such a study may help us to understand the situation in the United States. The first and second divisions are intended to contribute to a general knowledge of slavery and of the attitude of the civilized world toward the institution at the time it was fastened upon the western hemisphere.

I.

Slavery, as practiced by the ancients, varied with the character of the peoples among whom it existed. As it existed under the patriarchal form of government it was, no doubt, mild in character. Under the tribal form of government, the status of the slave is not so clear. Under the national form of government—which developed at an early date and which was, at first, only the union of a number of tribes as a result of conquest by the strongest, or the voluntary federation of several tribes for mutual defense—the condition of the slave class seems to have been truly deplorable. Especially was this the case when large numbers of slaves were employed upon public works, or were used to propel ships, as was the case in nearly all the maritime nations of antiquity.

As a general rule, wherever the slave has been inti-

mately associated with his owner, as was the case with those employed as house servants, or as agricultural laborers on small farms, he was kindly treated, and often enjoyed the confidence of his master. On the other hand, whenever large numbers have been employed upon public works by the State, or as laborers upon large plantations, their lot was very hard. This difference between domestic and plantation slavery is noted throughout the long history of the institution.

The origin of slavery is lost in the mists of a dim and uncertain past. It cannot be said to have been of divine origin, although the Mosaic law recognized slavery and threw around it certain safeguards at a time when the rights of slaves were wholly undefined. Abraham himself was a slaveholder. He possessed great wealth, consisting largely of cattle and of servants, some of whom were "born in his house" and others "bought with his money." It is not necessary to go into a detailed discussion of the institution as exemplified in this household. Some things we find worthy of commendation. Others show how far below the Christian standard the ethical code of Abraham really was, and, incidentally, call to mind the abuses of which the system of slavery has ever been capable. We may take the household of Abraham as typical of the patriarchal type of slavery at its best.

The institution is seen at its worst in such cases as the enslavement of the Israelites in Egypt. Joseph

found his way to Egypt as a slave. His people afterwards endured a long enslavement at the hands of the Egyptians, the avowed purpose of which was so to weaken them that they could not constitute a menace to the Egyptians. That the Jews were employed in some vast building scheme is quite evident. That they were made to "serve with rigor" is also clearly shown. How deep was the degradation resulting from their long bondage is clearly indicated by the nature of the laws which were found necessary for their guidance when at length they were about to enter upon a national career.

Even after their own bitter experience in Egypt, slavery was permitted among the Jews even to the extent of enslaving one another. It is, indeed, probable that the larger part of the slaves held by the Jews were members of their own race enslaved for debt, or children sold into slavery by their parents. Sometimes, in case of famine, men became slaves voluntarily. The institution was, however, modified by the Mosaic law to such an extent that it lost many of the objectionable features usually characterizing it. The redeeming feature of Jewish slavery is the fact that it could not, except in rare cases, be perpetual. The slave of Hebrew stock could be legally held against his will only a certain number of years. It is true, however, that these restrictions were often disregarded. It is also true that the possibilities open to

the poor were so meager that many preferred to remain in bondage rather than to attempt the uncertain task of providing for themselves and their families. This was a custom which became more prevalent during the later national life of the Jews, when a few came to control much of the wealth and the country was subject to frequent invasion. In no other way did the Hebrew nation show disregard for the Mosaic law more often than in its treatment of the servile class and of the poor of the land.

Toward those of other races who became slaves to the Jews the Mosaic law enjoined kind treatment, but did not give them the same protection as was given to Hebrew slaves. It seems that they did not share the privilege of release, and that they had no reason to hope that their enslavement would not be perpetual. The penalty for stealing a Hebrew and selling him into slavery was death. (See Deut. xxiv. 7.)

Of slavery as it existed in other nations, we can say but little. That it did exist is abundantly evident. That it was often of a mild type is true, but very often it was marked by circumstances of great brutality. The institution was, perhaps, at its worst in the palmiest days of Rome. Captives from every part of the world were brought to Rome, so that the servile class at length came to outnumber the native Roman population. Cruel and haughty by nature, the Romans were often brutal to their slaves. Without definite

moral convictions, the Roman, at his best, was a polished egoist. Normally, he was brutally selfish, with no scruples to prevent him from lording it over dependents as his capricious whims might dictate. The gladiatorial shows present the worst element of the Roman character, or rather the perversion of what was best in that character. Its bravery, its hardihood, its indifference to personal suffering — qualities which made the Roman Empire possible — had given place to a morbid desire to see these qualities exhibited by others. At no time in the history of the world, perhaps, was there more of cruelty practiced than in the two centuries preceding and the two following the beginning of the Christian era.

It is important to remember that in this age the mere fact that a man was a slave did not necessarily imply that he was inferior to a free man in culture, in education, or in natural endowments. Through debt, through physical necessities, or through the vicissitudes of war, a man might come to be the property of another in every way his inferior.

Such was often the case in Greece and Rome, and was, doubtless, the case elsewhere. The number of celebrated literary men who passed part or all of their lives as slaves is probably explained by the custom of employing slaves to copy manuscripts. Until the rise of monasteries, copies of books were produced by slaves trained for this work, who, by constant associa-

tion with the masterpieces of literature, often developed enviable literary skill. Faithful slaves often managed the business affairs of their masters. There are instances on record in which the estates of reckless and dissipated men were managed with such skill as to be preserved intact in the face of the wasteful extravagance of their worthless lords.

The chief benefit to humanity arising from the system of slavery as practiced at Rome lay in the training it gave to those who, captured by Roman arms, would have been butchered on the field of battle but for their value in the slave marts of the Roman cities. Carried to Rome as captives, many learned much that they were afterwards able to transfer to other countries, having either escaped or secured their freedom in some other way. Brutal as was the Roman, he nevertheless, in this way, conducted a school for all the nations. Slavery was not, therefore, even during this period, an unmixed evil. The possibilities of the individual life were, at best, circumscribed. That fuller life, known only imperfectly in the last few centuries, was scarcely so much as dreamed of. The thought of the brotherhood of man had not yet been given. Cruelties and barbarities were the order rather than the exception. Under such circumstances the slave often fared better than the free laborer. Certainly there is a sharp contrast between conditions during the first century of the Christian era and those of the nineteenth century.

The social order was different; the aims and hopes of men were different; the possibilities open to the individual were different. Therefore, to judge by present-day standards is impossible. When the choice was between bleaching bones scattered throughout the ruins of desolated towns and villages and slavery, even of the Roman type, the latter was preferable. Very often these were the alternatives.

II.

Of slavery during the second period, beginning with the Christian era and ending with the twelfth century, large volumes might be written without exhausting the interesting and instructive material at hand. The references we shall make to this period may be grouped under three heads—viz.:

1. The general status and condition of the slave class.
2. The attitude of the Christian Church toward slavery.
3. Reasons for the disappearance of slavery among the nations of Western Europe.
 1. The slaves of Europe were at no time of one distinct race generally regarded as inferior to the race holding them in subjection. They were frequently of the same tribe—sometimes of the same family—as their masters. Except at Rome and other centers of trade, where the lot of many slaves was very hard, the

institution was, in many respects, similar to the patriarchal type. The rule that a slave under other than his owner is always in danger of harsh treatment was exemplified in many of the larger establishments. In Rome, as elsewhere, the condition of the servile class seems to have grown steadily worse until the teachings of Christianity began to produce an appreciable effect.

A direct result of the extensive military conquests of Rome was that practically all nations and races came to be represented among the servile class of that city. There was also a similar fusion of tribes and races throughout the empire. It was the custom of the Roman armies to enslave those captured in war, especially those revolting against the authority of Rome. Slave dealers followed the armies and frequented the marts of Europe. Many of the slaves found their way to Rome. Tacitus tells us that among the German tribes, so great was the mania for gambling, men often wagered their own liberty, freely consenting to the loss of tribal rights and freedom when chance was against them, it being considered dishonorable to refuse to pay a wager. Such were usually sold to foreign dealers, as it was considered disreputable to hold a man enslaved in this way, especially if a kinsman.

The condition of slaves held throughout Europe at the beginning of the Christian era depended almost wholly upon the character of the owners. Few laws

existed for their protection. No doubt the cases of inhuman treatment which darken the pages of the histories of this period were sometimes overdrawn. Yet it is certain that slaves had few rights, and that they were practically helpless in so far as legal redress of wrongs was concerned. At Rome especially, inhumanly cruel treatment was sometimes resorted to as a means of striking terror to the hearts of the slaves. In increasing numbers they found their way into the arena, there to engage in gladiatorial contests or to do battle with wild beasts. Sometimes, denied arms, they were exposed to wanton slaughter by animals maddened by hunger and torture, thus furnishing a moment of excitement to a morbid and brutalized populace. The most atrocious penalties were inflicted for the most trivial offenses. Crucifixion and burning were penalties frequently inflicted upon this unfortunate class. In case of the murder of a master it was permitted to put all slaves to death who were near at the time, as it was considered their duty to protect the person of their master. Revolts, and even servile wars, were common, some being very bitter and cruel. Rome had sent her sons to perish upon the battlefields of the world, and had received in return for them a horde of captives who had no interest in the city and no love for the government that had enslaved them. The harsh measures adopted were, perhaps, necessary in order to enable the Romans to control the situation, but the in-

stitution of slavery appears in a very bad light as the result of these conditions.

Another factor which should not be overlooked is the fact that wealthy Romans, utilizing slave labor, were able to absorb the holdings of the middle class, which ultimately disappeared almost entirely. Tendencies toward industrial monopolies were early manifested, and the State sought to restrict the merchant prince as well as the large landholder. We are forced to note a striking similarity between the problems confronting Rome in the early centuries of the Christian era and some of the problems now confronting the industrial world. That Roman statesmanship ultimately failed to control the situation was due not to inability to understand what the conditions really were, but to the fact that before the issue was fairly joined the middle class had practically disappeared, leaving but the two extremes. With the middle class destroyed, the higher class corrupt and cruel, and the lower class ignorant and degraded, Rome staggered to her fall. To the presence of large numbers of slaves is no doubt due the destruction of the middle class, while conditions incident to the destruction of this class reacted disastrously upon both the poor freemen and the slaves as well as upon the higher classes.

2. The attitude of the early Christian Church toward slavery has been ground for divergent opinion and consequent debate. On the one hand, the funda-

mental teachings of Jesus and the whole genius of Christianity are unfavorable to the principles upon which slavery rests. The "fatherhood of God" and the "brotherhood of man" are conceptions which, with their necessary corollaries, rebuke the practices of men in reference to evils less hurtful than slavery. On the other hand, it is true that the practices of the early Christians were not generally equal to the high standard set for them by the lives and teachings of the apostles, and therefore very far below the standard set by the teachings and example of Jesus. No conception is more erroneous than that which looks back to the first century as furnishing a perfect example of the application of Christ's teachings. The members of the primitive Church were converts either from a corrupt heathenism or from the exclusiveness of Judaism. Both came into the Church in need of elementary instruction. The Epistles of the New Testament are, therefore, composed largely of instructions to those who had often but imperfectly caught the spirit of Christianity, and who were still involved in uncertainty as to its application to the practical affairs of life. The application of Christian principles was, except in a few rare instances, necessarily more imperfect than was the apprehension of these principles. The task before the early preachers and teachers was a most difficult one; and the more we know of the complications involved, the more fully are we able to appreciate the

wisdom displayed in holding tenaciously to principles and essentials, leaving social institutions, forms of government, etc., to be reformed by the spirit and influence of the new religion working through the regenerated individual. In this they followed the example of Christ literally.

Christ found slavery recognized as proper and generally practiced. There is no record that he made any direct attack upon the institution. When the apostles and evangelists of the early Church entered upon their work of converting the world to Christ, they were wise enough not to attempt a complete revolution of the social or the political institutions of their age. They were, primarily, the custodians of religious truth; and until that truth should permeate society, established social evils could not be banished. We are, therefore, not to understand that the early Christian teachers were indifferent to social wrongs, but that, in dealing with these wrongs, they were directed to those methods destined ultimately to prove most effective.

The arguments for slavery, therefore, drawn from the attitude of Christ and the apostles to the institution and from the practices of the early Church, as well as those drawn from references to slavery found in the Epistles of the New Testament, are irrelevant in the case of modern slavery except in so far as first century conditions have persisted into the eighteenth century and even later. What we find in the New

Testament is rather the method of dealing with existing conditions than an outline for the future guidance of the Church. The spirit of the gospel alone must be taken as indicating the course to be pursued when once that spirit had sufficiently permeated society to make the practical application of its dictates possible. Christianity is essentially individualistic in that it demands the highest possible of—and therefore for—each individual. It is, therefore, opposed to any system or institution or custom which circumscribes the possibilities of the individual. Christianity is essentially communistic in that it requires that the individual, thus brought to the highest possible efficiency, shall be subordinate to the interests of humanity as a whole.

Slavery, at its best, sins by its denial of opportunity to the servile class. There have been instances, however, in which it has brought the barbarian and the savage into contact with an advanced civilization, thus opening, rather than closing, the door of opportunity. Such was the case with some of the slaves of Greece and Rome. Such was the redeeming feature of American slavery.

It is not within the scope of this study to enter into any detailed account of European slavery. At one time slavery did exist in nearly every country of Europe. The most important difference between slavery in this period as practiced by the Europeans and that of a

later period in America lies in the character of the servile class. In almost every instance the slave was of a race the same as his owner, or of a race essentially equal to that of his owner. European slavery was, therefore, individual rather than racial.

3. The institution of slavery disappeared from the western part of Europe about the close of the twelfth century. Its disappearance was gradual, so much so that its complete extinction was not recognized by those most concerned. Earlier in the history of the Christian Church there had been many manumissions and emancipations by individuals who were moved to this by personal regard for the slaves or by the spirit of Christian brotherhood. Toward the close of European slavery, it is probable that, in the majority of cases, emancipation was marked by no formality whatever.

At the beginning of the Christian era slavery existed throughout Europe. The Romans were slaveholders. The peoples which overran Europe and ultimately conquered Rome were slaveholders. The inhabitants of the wilds of Germany and those of Britain were slaveholders. Yet the institution gradually declined and ultimately disappeared. To what was its disappearance due?

Students of this question agree in attributing the decadence and final disappearance of slavery jointly to Christianity and feudalism. As to which of these exerted the more powerful influence is a question that

has been warmly debated. The truth is, that while feudalism was almost as inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity as was slavery, yet, as slavery had served a good purpose in the spread of civilization and even of Christianity, so feudalism in turn contributed its full quota to forward that slow elevation of the masses which has been accomplished through a well-marked evolutionary process.

When the Roman Empire fell into decay, small States sprang up wherever there was no force sufficiently strong to hold larger fragments together. With no central government to control these, and with no curb upon the more ambitious, a chaotic condition was inevitable. Under such conditions it was not the production of wealth which occupied the minds of men but rather the preservation of life itself. Soon petty States were engaged in almost constant war with one another. Often these were subdivided until each castle became independent, and many castles became the strongholds of "robber knights," who lived by indiscriminate plunder and were a terror to all the surrounding country. Under such circumstances the people were forced to live in the immediate vicinity of some castle or town, and were forced to be ready to defend themselves on a moment's notice. It was imperative that the castles should be always ready for defense, and that they should be defended by those who were thoroughly loyal to their chief.

The ideal condition with slavery is not merely peace, but absolute security from attack. In the face of invasion by a hostile force, the slave element of a population has ever been regarded as a menace, due to the fact that it is always well acquainted with both its masters and their country, but without any tie to bind it to either. By turning against their masters and casting in their lot with the invaders, slaves sometimes gained their freedom. In facing a foe of considerable strength, the slaveholder always has much to fear at the hands of his bondmen. The Scottish border warfare presents a situation in which slavery was impossible. Of the many scenes from the writings of Scott we select the description of the mustering of the clans as found in "*The Lady of the Lake*" as at once typical of the ideal allegiance to a feudal chieftain and the exact antithesis of what would have occurred had the dependants of Roderick been slaves.

Blake sums up the contribution of feudalism to freedom in an admirable paragraph, from which we quote as follows: "The multitude of little states which sprung up from one great one at this era occasioned infinite bickerings and matter for contention. There was not a State or seignory that did not want all the men that it could muster, either to defend their own right or to dispute that of their neighbors. Thus every man was taken into service: whom they armed they must trust; and there could be no trust but in free men."

Thus the barrier between the two classes was thrown down, and slavery was no more heard of in the West." ("History of Slavery," Blake, page 22.)

The type of Christianity which came to prevail during the "Dark Ages" was not calculated to exercise the most wholesome influence upon humanity. Some of the fundamental teachings of Christ were but poorly exemplified by the leaders both of Church and of State. Mr. Blake intimates that the influence of feudalism in behalf of freedom was, perhaps, more potent than that of Christianity; and, in view of later developments, the presumption at least is with feudalism.

Christianity was, however, a most important factor. However imperfectly the spirit of the gospel was apprehended and applied during these centuries, its fundamental principles were constantly reiterated and did produce beneficent results. It is worthy of note that nearly all the certificates of manumission that have come down to us are given "*pro amore Dei, pro mercede animæ.*" As Mr. Blake expresses it: "They were founded, in short, upon religious considerations; that they might procure the favor of the Deity, which they had forfeited by the subjugation of those who were the objects of divine benevolence and attention equally with themselves. These considerations began to produce their effects, as the different nations were converted to Christianity, and procured that general liberty at last which, at the close of the twelfth century,

was conspicuous in the west of Europe." ("History of Slavery," Blake, p. 22.)

Feudalism did involve a measure of recognition of individual worth, and did give some scope for individual initiative. It inspired some degree of emulation, and was in these respects a marked advance upon the social order which it supplanted. The system was admirably adapted to the development of certain characteristics essential to the full realization of individual possibilities. Prominent among these characteristics was a personal independence impossible to a slave and due to the measure of liberty in giving or withholding allegiance to a lord enjoyed by even the higher rank of serfs. There was also much in the feudal system to identify the interests of the lord and his retainers. The latter shared in both the glory and the booty won in forays and in battles. There was, therefore, an infinite difference between a slave toiling for a master and the average retainer voluntarily loyal to a feudal lord.

It may be well, before taking up the study of negro slavery, to call attention to a chapter in the history of servitude in which the European Christian was the victim rather than the oppressor. We refer to slavery as practiced by the Mohammedans, especially those residing along the north coast of Africa.

Christians captured during the crusades were either sold as slaves or held for ransom. Comparatively few

women were among those thus reduced to slavery, and the crusades left no considerable number of Europeans in perpetual bondage. Such was not the case in North Africa.

After the fall of Carthage, this territory fell to the Romans, and remained under their control until A.D. 428. It was then wrested from Rome by Genseric, the Vandal, and remained under the dominion of the Vandals for about one hundred years. The Greek emperor, Justinian, then conquered it, and it became a part of the Greek Empire. The Saracens succeeded the Greeks. These, about the year 710 A.D., crossed the narrow strait and carried the war into Spain, where they defeated the last of the Gothic kings and established themselves in Southwestern Europe. Here they founded a magnificent empire and ruled in comparative quiet for three centuries. Then followed four centuries of conflict, which terminated in the expulsion of the Moors in 1492.

Meantime, the dominion of the Moors in North Africa had been extended so as to include practically all of that part of Africa lying between the sea and the desert. The Moriscos, or Spanish Moors, after their expulsion from Spain, settled upon the seacoast, and soon became skillful sailors and daring pirates. Cherishing the deadliest enmity toward the Spaniard, they availed themselves of every opportunity to ravage the coasts of Spain, where they destroyed villages, seized

all movable property, and carried off the inhabitants as slaves. The Barbary Moors came to make common cause with the Moriscos, and soon their depredations extended far beyond the coasts of Spain. Captives were finally sought on the coasts of Ireland, and, about 1631, a descent was made upon Iceland and eight hundred persons were carried to Africa as slaves. Meantime, the swift cruisers of the Moors made shipping at sea unsafe unless under powerful convoy. All who were captured by these marauders, either on the ships taken or by sudden descent upon unsuspecting coasts, were hurried to Africa to be held for ransom or to spend their lives in bondage.

The European nations made several efforts to destroy the strongholds of these pirates, but without achieving decided success. The first of these efforts was made by Ferdinand in 1509. A few islands were captured and about three hundred slaves were liberated. In 1537 a combined force, representing the Low Countries, Spain, Italy, Portugal, and Genoa, attempted to destroy the city of Tunis. In the battle ensuing, the Christian slaves, who had been imprisoned in the citadel, escaped and turned the guns of the fortress upon their masters. The defeat of the Moors was decisive, and twenty thousand slaves were returned to their respective countries. By way of reprisal, ten thousand Moors were carried away and became galley slaves for life.

After the destruction of Tunis, Algiers became the most important of the piratical strongholds. To reduce this, the emperor, Charles V., again summoned the forces of Christendom, and, meeting with a noble response, appeared before Algiers with a powerful land and sea force. Owing to a severe storm, which drenched the soldiers already landed and prevented those still on the ships from assisting them, and which destroyed two hundred war ships and transports, together with eight thousand men, the expedition proved a failure. The men who reached the shore were enslaved, while the wreckage was very useful to the pirates in equipping their own fleets.

That these pirates and robbers were permitted to carry on their operations for three hundred years was due to no special strength or prowess on their part, but rather to the jealousies of the Christian nations. Blake quotes DeWitt, the famous Dutch admiral, as openly advising against the destruction of the pirates on the ground that the Dutch were able to provide their merchantmen with sufficient convoy to insure safety, while to destroy the pirates would be to place the ships of those nations not able to protect their shipping upon an equal footing with the two or three nations possessing naval strength. Nor is the record of the English clear in this matter. Until a much later period, the English navy was either inactive or, as in 1703, when a Dutch admiral was on the point of chas-

tising a Barbary pirate, protected the pirate. There can be little doubt that this attitude of the leading European nations toward each other is directly responsible for the long continuance of Christian slavery in North Africa. The failure of the European nations to protect their subjects led to efforts to ransom—with money—those who were captured and carried into slavery, a custom which rendered their raids quite profitable to the pirates.

In the face of this lack of unity on the part of the Christian powers, an order sprang up in the Catholic Church which was strangely contradictory in theory and in actual achievement—contradictory in that it greatly relieved the sufferings of those actually enslaved, but at the same time made the business of capturing European slaves vastly more profitable through the princely ransoms paid for their release. We refer to the Trinitarian Brothers of Redemption, an order founded in 1188 by Jean Matha, the original purpose of which seems to have been to ransom captured crusaders. Leading English churchmen were active in this order within a year after it was founded. Soon enough money had been raised to enable two representatives to visit the East, whence they returned with one thousand two hundred and eighty-six ransomed slaves.¹

¹Blake, p. 89.

In 1551 an establishment was founded at Algiers for the benefit of the sick and aged slaves, and to serve as a base in the work of redemption. A number of the Trinitarian Brothers were permitted to reside at this hospital and to become a means of communication between those enslaved and their friends. Meantime, members of this order in Europe devoted their time to securing money for the redemption of the captives. In this they developed great skill. In order to impress the public with the importance of the work they were doing, the slaves ransomed were often used in making spectacular displays, which usually took the form of processions and thanksgiving services held in the various churches. Such displays greatly increased the contributions to the redemption fund.

As giving a concrete illustration of the work of the Redemptionist Fathers, we quote again from Blake. The zealous churchmen had purchased almost to the limit of their funds when they came to the Dey expecting to ransom ten of his slaves. They were especially anxious to ransom three—a French gentleman, his son, and a surgeon. The account is quoted in full by Mr. Blake from the published account of a voyage made in 1720. It is as follows: "These slaves being brought in, we offered the price demanded (\$3,000) for them. The Dey said that he would give us another into the bargain. This was a tall, well-made young Hollander, one of the Dey's household, who

was also present. We remonstrated with the Dey, that this fourth would not do for us, he being a Lutheran, and also not of our country. The Dey's officers laughed and said that he was a good Catholic. The Dey said that he neither knew nor cared about that. The man was a Christian, and that he should go along with the other three for \$5,000." (Blake, p. 89.) After much "fencing" the fathers were obliged to pay the price demanded, less \$500, but were forced to take the "young Lutheran Hollander." (*Ibid.*)

We have already mentioned the national jealousies and the fact that these are responsible for the long continuation of Christian slavery in North Africa. The above incident introduces us to the unfortunate results of the religious differences existing in Europe, and also among the slaves. All the various schools of religious thought being represented, and also all the divisions of the Christian Church, there were frequent fights between their adherents. The most bitter conflicts were between the adherents of the Eastern and those of the Western Churches, and between those of the Roman and of the Protestant Churches. Mr. Blake, whose account of Christian slavery is the fullest at hand, says of this feature: "The hardships of slavery were, in all truth, insufficient to extinguish the religious and national animosities of the captives. Dreadful conflicts frequently occurred between the partisans of the Eastern and Western Churches—Span-

iards and Italians uniting to batter orthodoxy into the heads of schismatic Greeks and Russians. Nor were such disturbances quelled until a strong body of guards, armed with ponderous cudgels, vigorously attacking both parties, beat them into peaceful submission. Life was not infrequently lost in these contests." (Blake, p. 88.) The spirit thus rife among the slaves themselves was the cause of those divisions throughout Europe which, in turn, caused that continent to cower before a mere handful of marauders.

In 1646 there were seven hundred and fifty English captives in Algiers. Among these were many skilled mechanics, especially valuable to the pirates, who were then constructing a powerful navy with which they afterwards ravaged the coasts of Europe. With money appropriated by Parliament an agent succeeded, in 1646, in ransoming "two hundred and forty-four English, Scotch, and Irish captives at the average cost of thirty-eight pounds each." (Blake, p. 90.)

The first attempt to release English captives by force was made in 1621. Practically nothing was accomplished. In 1662 another effort was made to reduce Algiers, but the only results were the redemption of one hundred and fifty slaves and a treaty which the pirates, true to their custom, disregarded as soon as the English fleet was withdrawn. Yet to the English belongs the credit of having finally put an end to Christian slavery in Africa. In 1816 Lord Exmouth utterly

destroyed the fortifications and the shipping of the Dey, releasing three thousand slaves and delivering a defeat so decisive that the pirates have given no further trouble.

With the exception of the expeditions already mentioned (see page 163), the only serious blow inflicted upon the pirates was in 1688, when Louis XIV., after a partially successful effort in 1682, sent Marshal d'Estrées, with a powerful fleet, to punish them. Provided with mortars, then an untried engine of war, the fleet hurled ten thousand bombs into the city of Algiers, utterly demolishing the fortifications and wrecking the city. Both were, however, quickly rebuilt, and piratical operations renewed.

The attack made upon the Barbary States early in the nineteenth century (1801) by the United States navy had the effect of producing respect for this country, but was not sufficient to correct the practices of the pirates. As a result of this attack two hundred captives, presumably American citizens, were released from slavery. (Blake, p. 92.)

Thus, in 1816, after more than three centuries of depredation upon the coasts of Europe, the Moslem of North Africa was subdued and the disgrace of Christian slavery ceased. Never able to withstand the united forces of Europe, the existence of the Barbary pirates was due wholly to the political and commercial jealousies and religious differences of Europe,

which prevented concerted action. With citizens of every nation of Europe languishing in slavery, we may well believe that it was economic conditions rather than moral considerations which prevented slavery from being fastened upon Europe itself. Under such conditions it was not to be expected that the wrongs of the African negro would appeal very strongly to the nations of Europe.

NEGRO SLAVERY.

To the Portuguese, among modern nations, belongs the unenviable distinction of having introduced negro slavery into the current of modern civilization just on the eve of the discovery of the western hemisphere.

In 1434 the negro race did not exist north of the Sahara Desert. It had long since been supplanted, or fused with other races, if indeed it ever held this part of the continent. In Abyssinia and along the lower reaches of the Nile few full-blood negroes were to be found. The backward state of navigation and the Sahara Desert protected Central Africa from the nations of Europe, while conditions prevailing in the adjoining parts of Asia prevented any very energetic encroachment from that quarter. The Moslems did carry on a slave trade in East Africa, of which we shall have occasion to speak later. The cheapness of labor in India, Persia, and other possible markets, together with the already overcrowded population of Asia,

largely restrained the slave catchers on the East of Africa until the ships of the West began to round the Cape in their eagerness to procure cargoes of slaves. The greater length of the voyage and the dangers of the Cape were still obstacles tending to confine the slave trade to the western coast.

The beginning of the modern trade in negroes was made in 1434 by a Portuguese captain, Antonio Gonzales, who visited the Guinea coast and secured a few negro boys whom he sold later to some Moorish families residing in the south of Spain. In spite of some criticism, it soon became customary for traders visiting the Gold Coast to secure a limited number of young negroes of both sexes. Soon a regular traffic was established between the West of Africa and the home ports of the trading ships. Soon all the maritime nations of Europe joined in the traffic.

In 1492 America was discovered. At first the Indians were enslaved by the Spaniards, and an effort was made to force them to perform the manual labor required in the settlement of the New World. For this, however, the Indian proved unsuitable. Accustomed to the greatest freedom and unaccustomed to work, the Indian did not make a tractable slave, nor could he endure the hard manual toil imposed by the Spaniard. Either the Indian ran away or died, so that when the superiority of the negro as a laborer came to

be demonstrated, all classes seem to have regarded it as quite proper to use him and thus spare the Indian. Cardinal Ximenes seems to have been the first to protest against negro slavery; whether from a sense of humanity or from political insight as to the ultimate result, we are unable to determine. It is certain, however, that it was with a view to sparing the Indians of Hispaniola that the negroes were introduced, and, further, that they were introduced largely through the influence of a priest, Las Casas by name. So rapidly did the Indians perish when put to hard labor that a population variously estimated at from one and a half to three millions at the discovery of the island soon dwindled to ten or twelve thousand.

The first negro slaves were brought to America in 1501.¹ They proved able to stand the climate and to do satisfactory work. With the Indians rapidly disappearing, while the negroes found the climate congenial and increased marvelously, remembering that at this time "slavery touched no man's conscience," it is not difficult to explain the course of Las Casas. Especially does his course seem sincere when we recall that devout Christians were urging the advantages to the negro in that his enslavement was bringing him under Christian influences. To these considerations must be added the economic demands of the New World.

¹Blake, p. 96.

"From the governors, the priests, and the people—one united voice demanded negro slaves."¹ In response to this demand, cargo after cargo of negroes found their way into the West Indies and into other Spanish possessions.

At first it was the policy of the Spanish Crown to grant or to sell exclusive rights to engage in the slave trade; but this arrangement did not furnish a sufficient number of slaves to meet the demands of the colonies, and prices were too high. In answer to the popular demand, the monopolies were canceled and the slave trade practically thrown open to all.

About the year 1562 an English captain, Sir John Hawkins, entered the trade. His first cargo of slaves, landed in Hispaniola, proved very profitable, and he thereupon entered regularly upon the trade, Queen Elizabeth being interested in his ventures and sharing his profits. Later, the English slave trade was carried on by huge companies acting under royal charter. Four of these charters were granted between 1618 and 1672. In 1698 the trade of the African coast was thrown open to all Englishmen, except that duties were imposed upon all exports except negroes and gold. Other nations having entered the field, the various governments found frequent occasion for quarrels growing out of the rivalries thus engendered.

¹"Historical Sketch of Slavery," Cobb, p. 147.

The first negro slaves brought to the English colonies were landed at Jamestown, Va., in 1620. They were brought by a Dutch ship. One authority gives the number as twenty, and further states that they were brought by a Dutch man-of-war. In 1621 the cotton plant was introduced. This, with the cultivation of tobacco, soon created quite a demand for slaves in Virginia and the Carolinas, yet the number imported for some years following was not great. The New Englander early entered the slave trade, and was among the last to give it up.

All of the English colonies permitted slavery. In 1641 the code of Massachusetts recognized the lawfulness of both negro and Indian slavery, and sanctioned the slave trade. (Cobb, p. 147.) The only modification upon which the Puritan insisted was that only those who had been made prisoners in war or were already slaves in Africa should be enslaved in that colony, and on one occasion the "general court" actually ordered two negroes deported who had been captured by the crew of a slaver on the flimsy pretext of a quarrel with the natives.

Of the distribution of slaves during the colonial period of our history, much might be said to show that it was economic rather than moral considerations which transferred the bulk of the negroes to the South. Bancroft's statement concerning the situation in New York may be applied to all the colonies north of Vir-

ginia. He says: "That New York is not a slave State like Carolina is due to climate and not to the superior humanity of its founders." In 1750, according to Cobb (see p. 149), the slaves of New York City "constituted one-sixth of the population." In 1754, says the same authority, "by an official census, there appear to have been two thousand four hundred and forty-eight slaves over sixteen years of age in Massachusetts—about one thousand of them in the town of Boston." Perhaps the most ardent advocates of African slavery during this period were to be found in New England. Certainly some of its earliest and most disinterested advocates were to be found in that quarter.

There are but two cases of opposition to slavery which appear to have been more than the expression of individual opinion. Roger Williams was able to influence the town of Providence against slavery, but the remainder of what is now Rhode Island "joined in the general habit of the day." William Penn is said by some to have been himself a slaveholder, although this is vehemently denied by others. Later, the Quakers were pronounced in their opposition to slavery. It is a matter of record that "in 1712, to a general petition for the emancipation of negro slaves by law, the response of the Legislature of Pennsylvania was: 'It is neither just nor convenient to set them at liberty.'" (Cobb, p. 147.) In this State, however, slaves were never numerous, in 1750 one-fourth of the population

of Philadelphia being of African descent, but very few negroes being found elsewhere in the colony. Delaware was founded as a free colony, but the institution of slavery soon obtained a foothold. Georgia alone of all the colonies prohibited slavery "by its organic law." Mr. Cobb, himself a Georgian, has this to say of the early legislation of this colony: "Rum, Papists, and negroes were all excluded from the new colony; the former because experience had proved it to be the bane of the colonist, and the destruction of his neighbor, the Indian; the last, not from any principles of humanity to the negro, but as a matter purely of policy, to stimulate the colonists to personal exertions; to provide a home for the poor and starving population of the mother country; to create a colony densely populated with whites, to serve as a barrier against incursions from the Spanish settlements in Florida, and also to promote the cultivation of silk and wine, to which the negro was by no means adapted." (p. 150.) As a proof that slavery was not excluded on moral grounds, Mr. Cobb adds in a footnote the interesting fact that the governor of the colony, General Oglethorpe, was himself Deputy Governor of the Royal African Company, and owned a plantation and slaves in South Carolina.

It was the original intention that the colonists of Georgia should employ "indented white servants," but these were found unable to endure the climate, and

useless "from March to October." The prohibition of slavery, thus embedded in the fundamental legislation of the colony, was removed in 1749. It is very interesting to note that among the most zealous advocates of its removal were two Christian ministers, one of whom—Mr. Whitefield—holds a conspicuous place in the great religious revival of the eighteenth century. Among the original opponents of slavery in Georgia, the Salzbergers were conspicuous. At last, however, the pastor of this body of hardy Germans "Beseeched the trustees 'not to regard any more our or our friends' petitions against the negroes.'" Of the two ministers already mentioned, Mr. Cobb says: "The great and good Habersham, and the Rev. George Whitefield, the celebrated divine, were the most efficient advocates, in behalf of the colonists, in removing the restrictions. The purity of their motives, and their opportunities for personal observation, convinced those who had been deaf to the clamors of the people. The latter distinguished man was himself a planter and a slaveholder, within the borders of South Carolina, the proceeds of his farm being devoted to his darling charity, the orphan house at Bethesda." (Cobb, p. 151.)

The prohibition was removed in 1749, and the colony of Georgia took its place among the other colonies as slave territory. Thus we see the operation of economic forces tending in opposite directions. In 1749 the last opposition to slavery in Georgia seems to have

vanished. Vermont, where conditions were wholly unfavorable to the negro, claims the honor of being the first State to emancipate the slaves in its borders. This was done in 1777, but the census of 1790, according to Mr. Cobb, shows that there were still seventeen slaves in the bounds of the State. The very small number of slaves, and their questionable value in that climate, made emancipation a trifling matter, measured by the financial interests involved. In less degree, the same may be said of all the New England and North Atlantic States. Economic and climatic conditions made negro slavery unsuited to the industrial needs of the North. It therefore slowly disappeared. On the other hand, economic and climatic conditions in the South seemed to require the institution, and all the interests of that section joined in demanding it.

In the earlier stages of the trade all humanitarian objections were, in the estimation of those not actually engaged in the traffic, far outweighed by the possibility of bringing the negroes out of gross heathenism and into contact with Christianity. It is certain that very many were actuated by the purest motives and sought the highest good of the negro. Had the fathers been a little more considerate of their own descendants and of the future of their own country, they would have left the African to live his own degraded life in the jungles of Africa, and would have persisted in following the original "Georgia idea," thus

giving to America a homogeneous white population unmenaced by the presence of the black.

It cannot, however, be said that humanitarian considerations prevailed very long after the slave trade was well established; and while such considerations were never wholly absent, the moral and spiritual welfare of the negro soon ceased to be the dominant consideration. The economic features and interests came to dominate even among the permanent owners. Many a pious New Englander who had at first taken deep interest in the negro gladly sent him, on better acquaintance, to the plantations of the South, where his health would be better and his labor more profitable. The slave dealers, especially those who were engaged in bringing the negroes from the coasts of Africa, never professed to be actuated by any motive higher than that of gain. They were in the business "for revenue only," and, so far as I have seen their statements, none deny or try to conceal the fact.

One of the first tasks confronting the student of African slavery is that of constructing for himself and his readers a comprehensive statement of the conditions prevailing in Africa when the Portuguese first touched upon that part of the coast south of the Sahara Desert where the modern slave trade had its origin. In attempting this the difficulties to be overcome are almost insurmountable. In all the accounts which are

accessible to us, there is no mention of anything like a perfected alphabet, nor of a written language, nor of schools, as existing among the natives. Where any attempts were made either to preserve a record of events or to communicate with those at a distance, a crude system of picture-writing was sometimes employed, which, due to the material used, could not be permanent. Even this primitive use of hieroglyphics, if such it may be called, does not seem to have been general. Nor were there ancient monuments or buildings to shed light upon the past history of the negro race. Even tradition, so valuable in our efforts to unravel the past of other races, fails to throw any certain light upon the antiquities of the negro race. The few traditions existing are childish in character and exceedingly unreasonable.

Nor do the references to the negro found in the literature of other races throw any great light upon his history. Throughout the ages the negro seems to have fully borne the curse of Ham,¹ whether his lineal descendant or not. That the negro was slave to nearly or quite all the nations of antiquity is well established, as the proof is quite conclusive as to this point. To what extent the race was enslaved at any given time is not determined. It is quite probable that those carried into the various ancient countries finally lost their

¹See Genesis ix. 18-28.

racial identity by amalgamation,¹ and are, therefore, forgotten. The mention of the "Ethiopians" in Scripture is too indefinite to shed much light upon our problem. North Africa seems to have been known as Libya, while that part of the continent lying south of the Great Desert, so far as it was known, was called by the name Ethiopia, but was, we may well believe, but little known to the ancients. It is quite probable that the Ethiopians of the Scriptures inhabited the country adjacent to the Upper Nile, and that they were not of unmixed negro blood.

It is now conceded that the inhabitants of Libya were not of negro stock, although there was probably an infusion of negro blood in their veins. The Egyptians were not of negro stock, while the inhabitants of that part of Africa lying between the Nile and the Red Sea, and between the Upper Nile and the Indian Ocean, had undergone an amalgamation which made them as much Asiatic as negro. When, therefore, in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, Portuguese navigators, in their efforts to find an eastern passage to India, touched upon the coasts of Africa south of the Sahara Desert, we get our first authentic accounts of negro character and customs unmodified by contact with other races. The Portuguese, and other traders

¹There does not seem to be a single well-authenticated instance in which the negro race has, when in contact with other races, preserved its racial integrity.

who visited the western coast of Africa, were not writers. Nor were they interested in any of the questions so intensely interesting to us at the present time. The same must be said of the slavers and others who visited this part of Africa during the later stages of the slave trade. Some of these, however, were able to write excellent narratives, and it is from these disconnected narratives that we obtain some of the most valuable information available concerning the customs and social conditions obtaining among the natives. From a vast deal of material, found in letters, in reports of agents to the companies employing them, in the "logs" of ships engaged in the slave trade, in the testimony given before committees of Parliaments and other legislative bodies, we may collate information concerning almost every phase of African life and the slave trade.

It is well to note, before entering upon a detailed study of conditions in Africa in the earlier stages of the slave trade, that there is urgent need for the exercise of the critical faculty in dealing with the material at hand. It is quite evident to me that many of these accounts are given in terms which, in view of their connotation to those accustomed to a more advanced civilization, are really misleading. Thus, when we read of "kings" we should remember that an African is not necessarily a king in the sense that we, without a second thought, accept that term. There are numerous

instances where the title is applied to those who scarcely merit the name of petty chieftain. Nor are we, when some writer mentions an officer by a name with which we are familiar, to infer that the offices are at all identical. The same caution is to be observed in reference to all social institutions. Writers sometimes use the term expressing that which most nearly corresponds to a given institution with which both writer and reader are familiar, and, while the differences are clear to the writer's mind, the reader immediately assigns the content of that term, unmodified, to what he supposes to be a corresponding factor in the social status of the African. Readers of the antislavery literature, especially that produced between 1845 and 1870, will not fail to note a disposition to picture the conditions existing in Africa at this time as being far better than the records show them to have been. Nor is the statement sometimes made that these accounts give us, not the situation as it existed originally, but after the African had been corrupted and degraded by the rum and gaudy trinkets of the white trader, and after the white trader had taught him to be brutally cruel, wholly true. That the methods of the traders did produce dire results in African character may well be believed. This feature of the slave trade as conducted by the West sinks it to a level never quite reached by that conducted by the Mohammedan.

The negroes of Africa have never shown any marked

ability to organize for self-protection, the only semblance of organization noted being that of a number adhering to one chieftain. The size of these tribes varied greatly. In one instance the chieftain had an army of sixteen thousand men. In others, mentioned by those who were on the field and had excellent opportunities to observe, the tribe consisted of but a small village. This inherent weakness of the negroes is largely responsible for the fact that all other races have been able to prey upon the negro with impunity. So far as I am able to learn, there is not a record of a single instance of two or more tribes uniting in self-defense. On the other hand, there was constant warfare among the tribes, and it was an easy matter to array them against each other. By virtue of this fact, the traders were able to accomplish their purposes with little risk to themselves; nor were they under the necessity of maintaining strong armed forces at any time except as these might be necessary to enable them to resist attack by some European power.

Another fact which throws an important light upon the situation is that the negroes themselves were slave-holders. Some of the earliest accounts which we have assert that in the African villages the ratio of the slave to the free population was frequently three to one. Slavery, as practiced by the petty chiefs and wealthier negroes, was of the most revolting and degrading type. Of an earlier period Mr. Blake says: "In the

most remote times, every Ethiopian man of consequence had his slaves, just as a Greek or Roman master had. Savage as he was, he at least resembled a citizen of a civilized State in this. He possessed his domestic slaves, or bondmen, hereditary on his property; and besides these, he was always acquiring slaves by whatever means he could, whether by purchase from slave dealers or by war with neighboring tribes.” (Blake, p. 94.) It will be seen, therefore, that the appearance of slave ships on the coasts of Africa did not create the slave trade. That a demand for slaves for export would intensify the evils of the trade was to be expected, and such was the case. No doubt many true Christian men felt that in rescuing slaves from African bondage they were doing a deed of great merit. They were bringing these into a milder bondage and into contact with Christianity. In the light of this “previous condition of servitude” we may now understand the provision of the colony of Massachusetts that only those who had been slaves in their native land should be imported and held in slavery in that colony. It was not possible to enforce this provision, and no doubt many of the slaves imported into that colony were captured and imported without an intermediate term of servitude; yet it is interesting to note that there is even one case on record of a negro sent back to Africa because of a question concerning the legality

of his capture. Usually the slavers could prevent such problems from arising.

Without burdening the reader with any prolonged discussion of what light the several authorities throw upon that period of African history preceding the advent of the European into that part of the continent inhabited by the negroes, we pass to a brief summary of existing conditions. From the meager accounts given by those authors who attempt to deal with this early period, we cannot gain a satisfactory conception of the social conditions which prevailed earlier than the year 1442. There is every reason to believe, however, that these conditions did not change materially with the centuries; and while it is necessary to draw our conclusions concerning this earlier period almost wholly from what the Europeans found on first acquaintance and from the course of developments later, there is no great danger of falling into serious error by doing so. The leading features of the situation may be summed up—viz.:

1. Dense ignorance, and superstition in its grossest forms.
2. No civil organization worthy of the name of government. While neither patriarchal nor tribal in form, the government, so far as such may be said to have existed, partook of the nature of both these forms, but was usually administered according to the arbitrary will of the tribal chief.

3. Tribes were of various sizes and strength; frequently waged war upon one another; and rarely, if at all, joined their forces to repel a common foe.

4. Slavery of the most degrading type obtained among the negroes when first visited by the Europeans. There is every reason to believe that it had existed among them from the most remote times.

5. Family ties scarcely existed; polygamy was generally practiced; the whole negro race justly characterized as nonmoral, in the sense of being without ethical standards, rather than immoral, in the sense of transgressing a recognized ethical standard.

6. Cannibalism obtained almost or quite universally.

Such were the conditions when, in 1434, the first negroes were carried to Europe by the Portuguese, who thus, more than two hundred years after slavery had practically disappeared from Western Europe, led the way in a traffic which, but for the timely discovery of America, would probably have made Europe the seat of slavery instead of America. It is true that Europe was already supplied with labor, and that there could never have been the demand for slaves in that quarter which developed in the West. It is also certain that the restraining forces limiting the extent of negro enslavement in Europe would have been economic rather than moral.

For some time after the Portuguese began to export negroes from Africa, there was no difficulty experienced in procuring the requisite number of slaves to supply fully the demands of the trade. The Africans living along the coast were ready to furnish the number required, accepting in return the merchandise brought by the traders. When we remember that a large per cent of the inhabitants were already slaves, we may easily believe that the sending of a few, comparatively, out of the country made no great impression upon the negroes. As the trade increased, however, it became more and more difficult to supply the demand. It therefore became necessary to take such steps as would secure a stated supply of slaves and to have these in waiting when the ships should arrive for their transportation. The time of a ship is always valuable. With several ships seeking cargoes, it was inevitable that long delays would ensue, causing rivalry in bidding for the available supply. The practical business sagacity of those engaged in the trade soon put an end to the long periods of inactivity of ships waiting for a cargo to be secured after their arrival. This was done by establishing trading stations and slave depots at various places along the coast. These were in charge of resident agents, who, by reason of their continued residence in a given place and their consequent acquaintance with the surrounding tribes, were able to secure slaves in much greater numbers and to conduct

the trade in articles of commerce to much better advantage.

As these stations, or "factories" as they were termed, were designed to be permanent and to be used both as prisons for slaves awaiting transportation and as bases for trading expeditions to the outlying tribes, it was necessary that each should be made as strong as possible. They were, both for strength and for the health of the traders, usually located on some island near the coast, thus affording easy access to the mainland and harbor facilities for the ships. The danger to such stations from the natives was never great. They were, however, exposed to attack from rival European powers, and were usually sufficiently strong to withstand an attack by a considerable naval force. These trading stations, therefore, assumed the proportions of military establishments, many of them being well fortified and provided with the latest and most effective arms.

The men employed in the garrisons constituted their greatest weakness. When the nature of the business is considered, together with the dreadful diseases incident to the tropical climate, the presence of the imprisoned negroes, the unsanitary condition of the establishments, etc., it is not surprising that the garrisons and the traders, with few exceptions, were not fair representatives of the white race. The descriptions given of these "factories" by disinterested visitors, as well as those given by men actually engaged in the trade, show clear-

ly that a degree of moral degradation and general abandon existed which made the conditions exceedingly bad. From these "factories" went out influences that did greatly stimulate the brutish instincts of the Africans. Affording a ready market for all slaves brought to them, the "factors" were able to set the natives energetically and systematically about the work of kidnapping and procuring slaves in every possible way.

There are several accounts furnished by those on the ground showing how victims were captured both before and after the "factories" were established. This part of the history cannot be better told than by giving a few quotations. Of the trade in its earlier stages, Mr. Blake says: "The effect of the demand by the European ships gave an unhappy stimulus to the natural animosities of the various negro tribes skirting the west coast; and, tempted by the clasp knives and looking-glasses and the wonderful red cloth, which the white men always brought with them to exchange for slaves, the whole negro population for many miles inland began fighting and kidnapping each other. Not only so, but the interior of the continent itself, the district of Lake Tchad, and the mystic sources of the fatal Niger, hitherto untrodden by the foot of a white invader, began to feel the tremor caused by the traffic on the coast, and ere long the very negroes who seemed safest in their central obscurities were drained

away to meet the increasing demand; either led captive by warlike visitants from the west, or handed from tribe to tribe till they reached the sea. In this way, eventually, Central Africa, with its teeming myriads of negroes, came to be the great mother of slaves for exportation, and the negro villages on the coast the warehouses, as it were, where the slaves were stored away till the ships of the white men arrived to carry them off." (Blake, pp. 98, 99.)

Thus we see how the demand for negroes intensified the evils of the trade in Africa. It was usually the policy of the European slave dealer to have the negroes captured by those of their own race. Occasionally armed bands of Europeans did penetrate into the interior. Such forays were attended with more or less danger to health, so it became the custom with the slave dealers to provoke quarrels between neighboring tribes and then buy the prisoners taken by both sides. Accounts are given of the destruction of whole villages, or even towns, their inhabitants being either killed or driven off in the slave train of the conquerors. This method came to be, perhaps, the one most relied upon after the demand had become so great that it was difficult to supply it.

As a further development and perfection of the system of procuring slaves, the "factory" plan proved quite sufficient to meet the demands. This system afforded a market for every petty kidnapper where he

might dispose of any one who fell into his hands. The result was that every tribe within reach of these stations was infested with those who sought by every means to capture men, women, and children, knowing that if they could once reach the "factory" they would find a ready market, where no inquiry would be made as to the rights involved. Each of these "factories" was provided with "junior factors," whose business was to visit the neighboring tribes and to stimulate the natives in their efforts in capturing slaves and, by means of drink, to induce them to sell their own children. There were instances in which men sold their wives and relatives, as well as their children.

While the European slave trade was thus carried on along the western coast of Africa, the Mohammedan slave trade was making inroads upon the natives in the eastern part of the continent. It may be of interest to compare the two. The account already given of the trade on the west coast has given some conception of the conditions prevailing throughout that part of Africa occupied by the negroes. Practically the same conditions prevailed in Eastern Africa as existed in Central and Western Africa.

There is nothing in Mohammedanism that condemns slavery. The prophet himself was a slaveholder, and wherever his followers have gone the institution of slavery has been carried. The account from which we take the following description of the Mohammedan

method of capturing slaves is that given by Dr. Madden, of England, who went to Egypt in 1840, bearing a letter from the Anti-Slavery Convention to Mohammed Ali, ruler of Egypt. It had been announced that this ruler had abandoned the slave-catching business; but, on his arrival, Dr. Madden found that the trade was still carried on, and that the decree, given with no intention that it should be observed, was openly violated by the ruler himself and by his people. The interesting feature of Dr. Madden's account is the light it throws upon the method by which Mohammed Ali secured the slaves who were sold to the traders of Egypt, Constantinople, and Asia. We quote: "The capturing expedition consists of from one thousand to two thousand regular foot soldiers; from four hundred to eight hundred mounted Bedouins, armed with guns and pistols; from three hundred to five hundred militia, half-naked savages on dromedaries, armed with spears, and one thousand more on foot, armed with small lances. As soon as everything is ready, the march begins. . . . As soon as they arrive at the mountains of Nubia, the inhabitants are asked to give the appointed number of slaves as their customary tribute. This is usually done with readiness, as they are well aware that by an obstinate refusal they expose themselves to far greater sufferings." (Blake, p. 103.)

Even though the demands of the invaders were met and the required number of slaves furnished, the stores

of the tribe were usually plundered, their cattle driven off, and the tribe left in great danger of starvation. Of conditions where resistance was made, Mr. Blake gives a somewhat detailed account, which shows a degree of barbarity and brutality which well becomes the Turk. Quoting from the above source, he describes in graphic detail the attack upon the villages of the natives. After the attack was over and the inhabitants were all captured, killed, or driven into the forests, the surrounding country was devastated, and the slaves taken were driven to the nearest slave market, from which they were distributed throughout Egypt, Persia, Arabia, and some found their way into European Turkey.

Of the barbarities practiced by the Mohammedans, it is not necessary to speak further. Noted for their cruelty at all times, the Mohammedans conducted their slave hunts with a barbarity that was wanton in its cruelty, but, on the whole, was less objectionable in one respect than the method employed by the Western nations in their efforts to procure slaves. In the utter destruction of villages and towns, there was nothing calculated to corrupt the natives. On the other hand, in their desperate resistance and their heroic defense of their homes the nobler qualities of their nature were called into play. As between the smoking ruins of their villages strewn with the dead bodies of a large part of the inhabitants and a brutalized people

preying upon one another, corrupted by the arts and trickery of a foreign race; their weaknesses discovered and exploited simply because found to be the easiest means by which to gain the desired ends; the destructive drinks known to civilized man used for the destruction of the uncivilized man; the crude show of government corrupted into machinery for the wholesale conviction of subjects, that the more scrupulous of the buyers might be assured that the victim was a criminal under sentence; and a thousand other methods, suggested by the traders themselves, as tending to corrupt the natives and to intensify the evils of the situation—the advantage lies with the Moslem method of taking slaves.

Imperfect and incomplete as is this sketch of the African slave trade as it affected the negroes in Africa, it will have served its purpose if, by contrast with the conditions into which the slave was brought, it causes the reader to remember FROM WHAT the slave trade rescued those, comparatively few in number, who found their way into this part of North America. My own investigations lead me to believe that the African who was fortunate enough to find his way into any part of the United States lost nothing by the exchange. The contrasts will be noted elsewhere more fully. We are now prepared to take up that part of our study which deals with the transportation of the slaves from Africa to the American markets.

So long as the slave trade was recognized as legitimate and the slave ships were unmolested by the cruisers of Great Britain and of other nations, the horrors of the "middle passage" were sickening at best, and the mortality among the slaves, confined as they were for months on shipboard, was always great. Great as was the relish for the horrible displayed by the anti-slavery agitation, it was hardly possible to overdraw the horrors of this part of the traffic. As the trade became more and more disreputable, it naturally passed into the hands of men less and less amenable to moral sentiment and public opinion. By the time that the trade was declared piracy we may, therefore, well believe that those engaged in it were of the moral fiber out of which pirates are made. At any rate, the slavers deliberately set themselves at the task of defying the authority of the nations seeking to outlaw the trade. As there was but little hope of winning in a fight with a man-of-war, the natural course for the slaver to pursue was to keep away from the war ships. In the effort to secure speed the slave ships underwent a complete transformation. The large, slow, but roomy ship gave place to the long, narrow, swift, but cramped craft, able to outsail the heavier ships of the navies, and sometimes able to fight any vessel afloat that could match them in speed. Perhaps nothing ever gave such a stimulus to the effort to reach the acme of perfection in the model and rig of sailing ves-

sels designed for speed alone as did the dangers of the slave trade. The results were somewhat analogous to those of the rivalry in the design of racing yachts at the present time. The prizes, however, were not to be cups or other trophies, but, in addition to fortune awaiting a successful trip, financial ruin—perhaps chains, or even death—awaited those who were captured.

When it is recalled that many of the ships brought their cargoes of slaves around the Cape of Good Hope and across the equatorial calm belts, it is possible to imagine something of the horrors of the situation. Bad enough to drift for days becalmed under the fierce rays of a tropical sun when everything possible has been done to secure comfort. The negroes, however, were crowded together between decks scarcely three feet apart—some were less—and with no possibility of giving them sufficient ventilation, their sufferings must have been terrible. The time consumed by a voyage from the nearest slave stations was seldom less than two or three months, while from the more remote stations several months were sometimes consumed. The death rate was necessarily heavy. Even during the period when the traffic was legalized, although the ships were large and roomy and usually carried surgeons, the mortality was terrible. After the trade was made piracy and the slaves were crowded into the smaller vessels, health conditions were worse, the only compensating feature being that the voyages were

made in less time. The per cent of slaves reaching the Western markets to the total number captured would be difficult, if not impossible, to determine. There are several estimates at hand, one of which is quoted by Mr. Cobb from Mr. Buxton, who estimated that seven-tenths of the captured slaves died in the process. "Thus, of one thousand victims of the trade, one-half perish in the seizure, march, and detention on the coast (500); one-fourth of those embarked die in the middle passage (125); one-fifth of the remainder die in being climatized (75). Total lost in process, 700."

Other estimates of the number lost between the time they were embarked and the time they were landed vary sharply. Several captains, however, left records of the various voyages made by them, and from these, quoted by Mr. Blake, we are able to form a fairly correct idea of the mortality of the trade—viz.: "Captain Falconbridge, three voyages; purchased 1,100, lost 191. Captain Trotter, one voyage; purchased about 600, lost about 70. Captain Millar, one voyage; purchased 490, lost 180. Captain Ellison, three voyages; purchased 895, lost 356. . . . Total number purchased, 7,904; lost, 2,053." (See Blake, pp. 134, 135.)

These figures do not include those lost in the slave pens at either end of the voyage, nor those whose health was broken by the experiences of the trip. It is, I think, safe to reckon one negro lost for

every one that reached America and became acclimated.

After 1840 comparatively few slaves were imported into the United States. The trade came to be almost wholly with the West Indies and South America, especially with Brazil. Occasionally a cargo was landed in some of the Southern States and quickly scattered and concealed by those who were interested in the venture. For further discussion we may, therefore, regard the year 1840 as a practical turning point in the history of slavery in the United States, a turning point which involved a shifting of forces preparatory to entering upon the great struggle which terminated in the abolition of slavery in the United States.

The question arises: Why did the importation of slaves practically cease so far as the United States was concerned? The answer would seem to be that the vigilance of the navies of the United States and England made the risk too great. The facts, however, are against this theory. The trade was not suppressed. Ships of both these nations continued in the trade as long as there was demand for the slaves. Long after the trade began to languish in the United States, it was still brisk with the West Indies and Brazil. The navy of the United States found its chief work not in intercepting slavers seeking entrance into the ports of the Southern States, but along the coasts of Africa and in intercepting slavers bound for the West Indies and

for South America. Since the combined naval forces of the two countries failed to suppress the trade elsewhere, it is but just to conclude that, with our long line of seacoast, slaves could have been landed from the swift "clippers" of the slavers with comparative safety. The width of the Florida Strait and that of the Strait of Yucatan made operations in the Gulf of Mexico somewhat hazardous, as compared with the islands and the open coasts of the Atlantic. Opportunities to land slaves were not wanting, however, even in the Gulf.

The real explanation of this decline in the number of slaves imported into the United States is to be found in the economic conditions rather than moral considerations. One of the problems debated in the earlier stages of the slave trade was whether it was better to breed or to buy slaves. In rearing them it was necessary to own a larger number of women, whose labor was not as profitable as was that of the men. Children were a constant expense—small, it is true, but lasting through at least fifteen years before any returns could be expected. It was quite evident that the financial advantage lay on the side of those who advocated the purchase of the number of able-bodied men necessary to do the work required and, when these were no longer able to work, replacing them with new purchases. This is the philosophy ascribed by Mrs. Stowe to Simon Legree. (See "Uncle Tom's Cabin," p. 429.) The language put into the lips of this brutal character

is as follows: "I don't go in for savin' niggers. Use up, and buy more, 's my way, makes you less trouble, and I am quite sure it comes cheaper in the end. . . . Stout fellers last six or seven years; trashy ones gets worked up in two or three. I used to, when I fust begun, have considerable trouble fussin' with 'em, and trying to make 'em hold out. . . . Law, 't wasn't no sort o' use; I lost money on 'em, and 't was heaps o' trouble. Now, you see, I just put 'em straight through sick or well. When one nigger 's dead, I buy another; and I find it comes cheaper and easier every way."

No doubt there may have been men who reasoned thus. I have heard men reason thus in reference to mules or machinery. This sentiment, however, was never that generally prevailing among the slaveholders of the United States. Legree's theory of driving, and purchasing anew to fill the depleted ranks, would never have permitted the wonderful increase in the slave population which did occur in the United States, but did not occur elsewhere. The policy of the slaveholders of the United States no doubt led to the importation of a much larger proportion of women than was to be found among the slaves sold to the West Indies and to South America. We find, therefore, that the slave population of the Southern States did increase wonderfully, and that this increase was not only sufficient to supply the demand, but that, as a "home-grown" negro was much more valuable than one fresh

from the jungles of Africa, there was little to induce slavers to brave the dangers of effecting a landing upon our coasts. The policy pursued in the United States tended to introduce some of the better elements of feudalism and made the institution of slavery of permanent value to the negro race. Instead of constantly recruiting the slave population from Africa, the necessary number was obtained within the bounds of the United States. To this fact largely is to be attributed the wonderful progress made by the race under the régime of slavery.

The fact that after 1840 it was no longer desirable that slaves should be imported into the United States was one of the most important factors in completely localizing slavery and all the interests involved. The invention of the cotton gin had created a demand for slave labor in the South by creating profitable employment for that labor—something which has never existed in the North. But for this invention the development of the South would certainly have differed widely from the course it did take. As a direct result of this invention there was a massing of the slave population in the cotton belt, very many of those farther north being “sold South,” while practically all of those imported were landed south of the Chesapeake Bay.

The more carefully I study the problems incident to slavery, the more prominence I am forced to assign to

the influence of economic interests in shaping the policy of this country toward the negro, especially during the colonial and the earlier national periods of our history. This localization of slavery, occurring before the development of any pronounced antislavery sentiment in either section of the country, and therefore due to climatic and economic conditions rather than to moral considerations, was really the first step toward emancipation.

As long as the ships of the North Atlantic seacoast found the slave trade profitable, there was a community of interests between the maritime interests of that section and the slave States, and there was, in that section, at least a division of sentiment upon the subject of slavery; but when the trade no longer furnished profitable employment for these shipping interests, one of the strongest factors causing the North to remain neutral was removed and, with the exception of Northern capital invested in the South and in its commercial interests, almost the last economic bond between the two sections was broken. The humanity of the South as compared with other slaveholding sections of North and South America did, therefore, contribute largely to the destruction of slavery by contributing largely to that phenomenal increase of negroes which occurred in the South, but did not occur in other slaveholding countries. This economic isolation of slavery due to the power of the system to be self-perpetuating, to-

gether with what this involved, may be regarded as a second step toward emancipation.

The chief benefits accruing to the negro race from slavery may be grouped under two heads—viz.: “Religious Instruction” and “Industrial Training.”

The religious instruction given the slaves was never as general as it should have been. For many years after the introduction of slavery the plantations were scattered, and the work of subduing the forests and opening up the country to civilization occupied the time of the settlers, often to the neglect of their own religious interests. Such is the case in all new countries. Had the negro been brought into a densely populated country, he might have found a greater interest manifested in his religious welfare. Grave injustice has, however, been done the South by a class of writers who, unable to reconstruct the life of these earlier days or to realize the problems confronting the early settler, have supposed that no effort was made to Christianize the slaves. We strongly urge students of the negro problem to read such books as “The Gospel among the Slaves,” by Rev. W. P. Harrison, and “Our Brother in Black,” by Bishop A. G. Haygood. These and other books, written by Southern men and from the Southern standpoint, will give but little of the darker side of slave life; but they show clearly that there was a brighter side, and that there were many masters keenly alive to the responsibilities of their position and

zealous in their efforts to lay the foundations of true Christian faith and character in the slaves owned by them. The picture of the wife of a large slave owner with from ten to one hundred little negroes gathered before her while she was engaged in teaching them the catechism; or of the missionary traveling from plantation to plantation, devoting his time to teaching, questioning, and preaching; or of some gifted negro slave set apart as a preacher and a teacher of his race; of the negroes worshiping in the same church or at the same family altar with their masters—these are the scenes which at once reveal the brighter side of slavery and, we think, furnish the true explanation of the fact that, during the turmoil incident to the Civil War and Reconstruction, when restraint was removed and the responsibilities of citizenship were thrust upon the negro, consequences were not infinitely worse than they were. Even the crimes of the Reconstruction period were not those of the negro, but rather of designing white men acting through him and imposing upon him.

The fact that under the régime of slavery very little effort was made to educate the negro, some States going so far as to prohibit his education, is often accepted as proof that it was the policy of the slaveholder to keep his slaves in dense ignorance, and that no effort was made to elevate the negro. The time is now at hand, however, when we are prepared to accept the very evident truth that the older methods of education

are utterly inadequate to meet the needs of all classes. What will make one man a success in life will doom another to failure and disappointment. Leading educators are now questioning the value of studies which were once considered indispensable, and seeking to replace them with others more directly helpful in the tasks of everyday life. In the face of this tendency Greek and even Latin have been placed in a defensive attitude in the curriculum of many a high-grade institution. If it is being found necessary to modify our systems of education for the white youth, adapting the course of study to the natural ability and bent of mind of each and to his prospective calling in life, how much more necessary that, from the wide range of studies available, only those should have been chosen which would have prepared the negro for the practical duties of life, and would have assisted him in securing supplies for his physical necessities! There are three conceptions of education, and each has had its place in the efforts made to control or assist the negro.

That of slavery was purely manual training. Beginning with the "raw heathen," lately from the jungles of Africa, the problem was how to make of him a reliable, honest, and efficient laborer. But for the absolute control granted to the master, no one would have cared to undertake such a task. Considering the character of the negro and the life he had led in his native land, it was impossible to avoid severity in all

cases, even where the slave fell into the hands of a discreet and humane master. That this system of manual training did serve a very useful purpose cannot be denied. There are those who have made a careful study of the situation who believe that it was the highest for which the race was prepared. It may be that instruction in the elementary branches of a common school education would have made the negro a more efficient laborer and materially hastened the progress of the race; but this is by no means assured. During this period of enforced apprenticeship the negro did learn to work, and to work well. The habits of industry thus formed by virtue of necessity were never entirely lost. There is a noticeable contrast between the negroes reared under the régime of slavery and those reared in the period of demoralization succeeding the Civil War, which is not creditable to the later generation. Of all the people in the South, none have shown so much contempt for a large class of idle, vicious, and untrained negroes, which has become painfully prominent since the Civil War, as has the typical ante-bellum negro.

The second theory is that held by those who undertook the task of educating the negro after he was set free. For the lack of a better name we may use the word "classical" to characterize this conception of what the negro really needed in the way of intellectual training and equipment. There was no effort to adapt

instruction to the daily needs of the negro. As yet there had been no serious efforts along this line in reference to the course of study to be pursued by the white children. The effort was made, therefore, to give the negro the same course of study as was offered in the better academies and colleges for the white youth. To use a trite saying, this effort to give the negro the highest classical training "spoiled many a good field hand and made very poor scholars." It ignored the principle of evolution in mental development. It demanded of a race just emerging from centuries of barbarism the same results obtained in the case of other races after centuries of persistent effort and achievement. Results could not but be disappointing—disappointing from the fact that so very few could, in the nature of the case, acquire a classical education, and disappointing because such an education unfitted the negro for the possibilities open to him and could not open other doors for him. Discontent and discouragement on the one hand and arrogant assumption on the other were the legitimate results of this theory upon the negroes themselves. It produced the further effect of convincing very many wellwishers of the race that an education was a positive misfortune to the race, and thus delayed efforts which should have been made by the South at an earlier date.

The third theory—that of combining thorough manual training with such intellectual training as the indi-

vidual may show himself capable of receiving, best exemplified at Hampton and at Tuskegee—is the one which should have preceded emancipation, or followed it immediately. Slavery, receiving the African savage, had furnished a measure of manual training, and made the negro ready for the next step—that of elementary mental training joined with an advance in manual training. It thus appears that what should have come last and only to those who had evinced fitness to receive and profit by it, was offered to many utterly unable to receive it, while practically nothing was done for the great mass of the race. As time passes and we are able to study causes through their effects, the gravity of this mistake will become more and more self-evident. The true theory of education is not to add from without so much as to "draw forth" latent possibilities. Could this third theory have prevailed at the beginning of freedom, it would have held the race to saner ideals, preserved it from many serious mistakes, and, by the time scholars were evolved, the way would have been prepared for them. A certain degree of material prosperity and command of the means of livelihood are essential to the existence of a distinctly literary or professional class among any people. The negro of 1865 faced the task of building a home and finding his place in the economic system of the country. Until these problems could be settled satisfactorily, the classics were worse than useless to him.

One practical advantage of the method of studying the negro problem here suggested is that it will enable us to understand just what the period of slavery had done for the negro and what it had not done. It had not accomplished what very many, in their dealings with the negro, assumed that it had accomplished. That it had laid a foundation for future progress may be truly said, but this is as much as may be justly claimed for it. That this foundation was grossly imperfect in many respects is a truth which the Southern people, more intimately associated with the great body of the negro population than the North, universally recognize as established beyond all question. Recognizing, then, the limitations of the African at the beginning of his servitude, and the fact that slavery does not seek, primarily, the intellectual or the moral betterment of the slave, the question which arises is this: Had a few generations spent in slavery made the African savage ready for citizenship and participation in a government where so much depends upon the intelligence and the personal character of the voter? If so, what were the influences producing this marvelous transformation? Who but his masters, and what but a place in the social system which they founded and maintained, produced this wonderful result? Where else can be found so great a transformation in members of this race?

We have seen the statement that citizenship was con-

ferred upon the negro as a further punishment and humiliation of the South. We have also heard it whispered that the party conferring this boon expected to profit by adding some millions of voters to its lists. Be this as it may, in the face of this practical tribute, necessarily implied in any creditable interpretation of the attitude of the North toward the negro, scathing denunciation of either the system of slavery or of the Southern slaveholder seems strangely inconsistent. It might be well to bring all the negroes remaining in Africa, as well as many of the inhabitants of some of our lately acquired territory, under a similar system of tutelage, *provided conditions at the South could be duplicated.*

The South must, in part, modestly disclaim the tribute thus offered by her enemies at a time when passions ran high and the convulsions of civil strife were still distracting our unhappy country. Until the last sufferer from that dreadful conflict shall have passed away, we need not expect its echoes to cease. The distant future will perhaps strike a just balance in its estimate of the merits and the demerits of each side in this unfortunate struggle. The ultimate decision will depend almost wholly upon the development of those features of the problem which are now largely in the hands of the negro himself.

Evidently the American negro has received infinitely the greatest benefits arising from his period of enslave-

ment, while his sufferings are not to be compared with those of either the North or the South on his account. Though his opportunities were restricted under slavery, these restrictions, considering his moral and intellectual status, were not hurtful as a whole. He now has an opportunity to demonstrate to the world what he is and what he is capable of becoming. When we consider the benefits of slavery to the negro, and what it rescued him from, its wrongs, together with its exceptional cases of cruelty and its inherent possibilities for evil, sink into insignificance.

Contrasted with his race as it exists in Africa, the American negro has exchanged cruel oppression for beneficent discipline; the shiftlessness of the savage for settled homes protected by the sanctions of law and religion—in short, barbarism for civilization, and gross idolatry and degrading superstition for Christianity. Brought to America against his will, and with these opportunities thrust upon him without so much as the asking for them on his part, they are now his to enjoy to the utmost, and rarely is he forcibly deprived of even the least important of them. As compared with the lot of his race in any other part of the world, the situation of the American negro is indeed a fortunate one. However imperfect his training, slavery was the school in which he was prepared for his present heritage.

This chapter is written with no lingering regrets that slavery no longer exists. Nor is it written either as a plea for, or a defense of, the institution. Slavery has, however, been one of the most potent factors in the development both of our own country and of the negro race in America. In our estimate of the institution we would be just to all parties concerned.

No treatment of the negro problem can be complete which does not go far behind the introduction of negro slaves into the colonies of North America. Justice to all parties involved requires a comprehensive survey of the institution of slavery as it has existed under various conditions and among many peoples. We have, therefore, endeavored to call attention to the institution as it has appeared in different ages, selecting such references only as will, by contrast and comparison, the better prepare us to understand the various phases of the problem with which our nation has been forced to deal. Let us remember that slavery entered into every feature of the civilization of the ancients; that it was a potent factor among the mediæval peoples; and that, until a very recent date, directly or indirectly, either as enslaving others or being enslaved by the Mohammedans, slavery has been a living issue with the nations of modern Europe.

Its most serious consequences to the dominant race and its greatest benefits to the enslaved race are to be

found side by side in our own country. In blood and treasure it has cost the dominant race a terrible price. In social disorganization and sectional divisions and jealousies it has well-nigh destroyed our national unity, In moral and physical deterioration we have not quite kept pace with other peoples who have been long in contact with the negro, but the figures given elsewhere¹ show that we are pressing closely upon their steps. There are sections of our own country where amalgamation has reached almost to the mark attained in Porto Rico.

Each generation, as it enters upon its heritage, finds that it must bear burdens entailed upon it by preceding generations. Slavery constituted such an entailment.

It has been truly said that there was a time "when slavery touched no man's conscience." In prehistoric times the institution gained a foothold and descended from generation to generation. The Hebrew found slavery the established order, much to his sorrow; but his own experiences led only to mitigation of its horrors. Christ found it the recognized order, and took no steps to liberate those slaves with whom he came into personal contact. It is quite probable that he habitually accepted the services of slaves in homes visited by him. He also used the institution as fur-

¹See "Racial Integrity," pages 31 and 36, 37.

nishing some excellent illustrations of the various truths which he taught. He was not, therefore, indifferent to the existence of a servile class.

The few references left by the apostles and their co-laborers do not condemn the institution, nor are there frequent references to the evils of slavery as it existed at that time. They rather recognized it as the established social order, and gave such directions in reference to it as would enable both master and servant best to exemplify the true "spirit of Christ." The New Testament, therefore, exhorts masters to be kind, just, and considerate; while servants are exhorted to be diligent, honest, and true to the interests of their masters. We have given elsewhere what seems to us the true explanation of this seeming contradiction between the fundamental principles of Christianity and the practices of Christ and of the early Church. Christ and his apostles were "evolutionists" rather than "revolutionists" in their attitude toward social customs and institutions. Paul went so far as to assist a "run-away slave" to return to his master, commanding the recently converted Christian slave to his Christian master by a letter which has found its way into the canon of the New Testament. The book of Philemon perhaps deals with a peculiar case, yet it is of great interest as showing the attitude of Paul toward slavery as it existed at that time.

Early Christianity exhibits two tendencies, or rather

the working out of the one principle of universal brotherhood as applied to the two extremes of society as exhibited in master and slave. On the part of the master were inculcated kindness, consideration, and all those milder virtues which would, *at once*, have robbed the institution of its horrors and, ultimately, would have worked the destruction of slavery altogether had there been no lowering of Christian ideals. On the part of the slave were inculcated industry, fidelity, and honesty, not merely when under the eye of the master, but at all times, thus proving to the master—often an unbeliever—the transforming power of the new religion. In general, such a course of conduct was enjoined that “the gospel be not blamed,” and that its mission, primarily to the individual, should not be rendered futile by any premature attempts at social reforms for which no foundation existed. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the history of the early Church many instances are recorded in which the state of servitude was used as a means of advancing the cause of Christ. Against religious errors and perversions Christianity could not be, nor was it, silent. In combating these, however, and in guarding well the development of individual character, the early teachers and preachers found a task calling for all their talents and energies. They sought to “force” no reforms, nor to arouse any unnecessary antagonisms. Had Christ preached a crusade against slavery, or had the early Church or-

ganized an antislavery propaganda, by so much would energies and attention have been diverted from spiritual matters, and the opposition of the heathen world intensified. As it was, the Christian teachers and preachers, despite their opposition to existing religious systems, were sometimes welcomed and often tolerated where, as agents of an antislavery society, they could not have secured a hearing.

We are not to understand, however, that the inconsistency of holding “brethren in the Lord” in bondage was not recognized, nor that the “leaven” of human brotherhood was wholly idle through the centuries. Very many slaves were given their freedom by Christian masters; and when economic interests dictated the abolition of slavery throughout Western Europe, Christianity had already done much to prepare the way for freedom.

By some of the earlier religious leaders of the English colonies, as well as by some of the distinguished divines of England and by priests of the Catholic Church, the slave trade was, in its earlier stages, openly advocated on the ground that it was a righteous, Christian act to snatch the degraded heathen—often a slave to a more degraded master—from the jungles of Africa and, perforce, place him in the midst of a Christian civilization. Such was the motive actuating many of the Spanish priests—to which motive must be added pity for the suffering Indians—who were the earliest

advocates of African slavery as a substitute for Indian slavery.

These are facts which should not be forgotten. We do not claim that philanthropy was long the leading motive of those engaged in the slave trade. No one can read the records of the horrors of the trade without admitting that it involved many and grievous wrongs.

There are, however, two standpoints from which to view this whole subject of negro slavery. The investigator may stand at its close and compare it with the fuller development of economic, moral, and ethical ideals and principles now obtaining. From such a standpoint slavery must appear incapable of defense, and he who would attempt the task must do so with the certainty that the ethical convictions and the religious sympathies of the world will be against him. If, however, the investigator will begin with the beginning and consider all that enters into the problem—the benighted, degraded condition of the negro, hopeless in his native land; the infinitely higher, although, as to his share in its blessings and privileges, grossly imperfect, civilization with which slavery brought him into contact; the more than two centuries of a tutelage whose cruelties and limitations sink into insignificance compared with conditions still existing in Africa, a tutelage whose compensation consisted not in money wages (at best a doubtful benefit) but in such a con-

tact with civilization as to lay the foundation for whatever of progress the race may make in future—from this standpoint no one can study the situation without being convinced that slavery was not only beneficial to the race but that it was, perhaps, the only means, all things considered, by which the negro race could have been brought to its present stage of enlightenment. By so much as the negro in America in 1860 surpassed his benighted brother in Africa at that date, by so much was slavery beneficial to the slave. By so much as the negro in America enjoys the benefits of education, religion, and civil liberty, by that much does he surpass his brother in Africa, who is now retreating farther and farther into the recesses of the continent before the advance of England, Germany, France, and Belgium. The “atrocities of the Congo” incidentally furnish a tale of horrors for sensational journalism; but when all exaggerations are brushed aside, the fact remains that the negro, in his native haunts, still invites, by his inherent racial weaknesses, the aggressions of all who care to exploit either him or his country.

All students of the negro problem are urged to read the accounts given by Livingstone, Stanley, and other recent travelers and explorers, in order that they may realize fully from what slavery rescued its so-called victims. When the situation is fully grasped, let it be remembered that American slavery brought its so-called victims out of this putrid barbarism and into

contact with civilization and Christianity from one to three centuries earlier than these have reached even the borders of the "Dark Continent."

If the reader wishes to study American slavery impartially, he must not come to the task with a greedy hunger for the cruel and the disgusting. Many of those who wrote under the shadow of the approaching Civil War show clearly that, instead of being impartial students, they were searching eagerly for the evils of the situation. To many, anything that could give color to a sensational report was doubly welcome. Such would pass by a thousand slaves well-fed, well-clothed, happy, and contented, to seize upon the story of one whose lot was especially hard; or by a hundred masters, humane and noble, to fasten upon one, cruel and brutal, as the representative of the slaveholding class. For twenty years previous to the Civil War, we find little or nothing said favorable to slavery, and practically no recognition of the training it was giving the negro race. A run-away slave returned to his master under circumstances calculated to arouse pity; the "experiences" of fugitive slaves whose stories were often heightened by the assurance that their chances for kind treatment would be improved in proportion to the horror excited by the recital of woes, real or imaginary; the separation of families, etc.—were much more useful to antislavery agitators than the great mass of slaves so perfectly adjusted to their surround-

ings and so contented with their lot as to lead disinterested visitors to pronounce them, on the whole, the "happiest people in the world."

Let those who lament that gross evils were possible and did sometimes occur under slavery read again the accounts of African life even in our own day. Let them study the negro vagrant of our cities, let them penetrate into the inner life of the freedmen, and they will find that, for every item they can insert in their indictment of *slavery*, corresponding evils still exist. It will be found, further, that no section of the negro race up to 1860 (perhaps not since) has fared better at the hands of the white races than has the African in these United States. If we are able to read aright the situation in Africa to-day, no part of the negro race is so unfortunately situated as that which remains in Africa. It is, indeed, probable that the negro race will ultimately disappear from parts of Africa as has the Indian before the advance of the white race in America, for it is now evident that the nations of Europe will shortly colonize every part of Africa suitable for the white race, and that this race will soon dominate every part of the continent, exploiting its resources with little regard for the interests of the negro.

Readers of this volume will, no doubt, feel that the present chapter is inadequate, if not seriously defective. Let it be remembered, however, that no attempt is made to treat the subject exhaustively. Slavery is

vitally connected with all the problems incident to the presence of the negro in America—especially the educational problem and that of racial integrity. For this reason we have felt it necessary to call attention to certain features of the enslavement of the negro here in our own country, as well as to the institution of slavery in general. In our treatment of this subject we have sought to make three points clear—viz.:

1. The attitude of Europe toward slavery as exhibited in the enslavement of Europeans by the Moslems—as late as 1816—and by the readiness with which the leading European nations engaged in the African slave trade, thus fastening slavery upon the New World instead of peopling it with a homogeneous population. “There was a time when slavery touched no man’s conscience.”

2. The situation of the negroes in Africa—how utterly degraded they were, and how slavery was the only means by which even a small part of the inhabitants of that benighted land would have found their way elsewhere. The enormities of slavery, at its worst, were not more cruel than conditions still obtaining in parts of Africa.

3. The improvement of the negro race under slavery, in that it acquired settled homes and a degree of industrial training, thus preparing the way for an advance step impossible without this foundation.

Judged by the standards of the age in which slavery

was fastened upon us, or by the situation from which it rescued the negro, or by the opportunities which it has brought to him, no harsh criticism is due any one for the situation of the negro race in the United States at the time when antislavery agitation began to grow acute.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM.

I.

THERE can be no doubt of the existence of certain mental, physical, and temperamental *differentia* distinguishing the various races from each other. The only ground upon which this statement may be questioned lies in the self-evident fact that in every race are to be found exceptions to what are recognized as the general characteristics of the race. When, however, all the exceptions are duly considered, each race may still be represented by a typical character which, like a composite photograph, embodies, in a general way, the characteristics of all its members.

It is, therefore, a most interesting study to inquire carefully into the characteristics—physical, mental, and moral—of the various races. It is also very interesting to note the influences and the forces which tend to modify or change the characteristics of individuals or races.

The word “change” is not quite appropriate in this connection, for it is quite as practicable for the leopard to change his spots as for a given people to change

their inherent characteristics. There may be, as a result of environment, or of deep conviction, or of persistent personal effort, a continued and successful endeavor to stimulate certain innate tendencies and to suppress others. It is the possibility of doing this which lies at the basis of personal responsibility and makes the development of character possible. It lies within the power of every man of sound mind to give close attention to all that affects his life and character, and thus greatly to increase his economic efficiency and to improve in spiritual excellencies. It is not possible, however, for all men to reach a uniform standard of either intellectual attainment or spiritual perfection.

Likewise, it lies within the power of every race either greatly to increase its efficiency by conserving and by stimulating its mental resources to the highest power, or to suffer a seeming mental deterioration by reason of the fact that the individuals composing the race either cease to use certain characteristic endowments or make but partial use of certain faculties. There is a principle in nature which has been expressed thus: "Unused faculties tend to disappear." The mental and the physical deterioration of the individual is illustrated so often that we are prepared to believe that inherent capacity may be destroyed in so far as the individual is concerned. The problem confronting us in this study goes far deeper than any mere use of

faculties. We wish to know whether or not disuse continued through succeeding generations may ultimately result in the total and irrevocable or even partial and temporary loss of a faculty. On the other hand, does a situation demanding a given line of activity, if continuing through a sufficient length of time and affecting several generations of a given family, so affect the constitution as to enable it to be said that any acquired aptitude does, in any sense, become organic and hereditary? The problem may then be thus stated: Does each child begin life with the same innate capacities as marked his family and race centuries ago, or have the innate capacities of the family or race either increased or diminished with the centuries according to the use or neglect to which these have been subjected?

Such questions we shall make no attempt to decide. They fall within a realm where only specialists have a right to speak, yet they are vital. In the realm of ethics and morals, even more than in that of psychology, their settlement is of the highest importance. While intensely interesting and of the highest importance, such questions have in them a large element of the speculative, and will continue to afford ground of investigation for the scientist and of speculation for the curious rather than of difficulty for those practically engaged in the task of bringing the negro to the highest possible degree of practical efficiency. There can

be no question concerning the effect of properly directed effort upon individual efficiency, nor that individual efficiency does create an atmosphere exceedingly helpful to both the present and the future as, by virtue of competition, it forces the individual to acquire proficiency in a given direction or forces him to relinquish all hope of achieving any marked success in life.

Prof. W. B. Smith, in his admirable and suggestive chapter, "A Dip into the Future,"¹ discusses at some length the question whether or not acquired characteristics may become hereditary and thus become organic. Professor Smith speaks clearly and forcefully. We quote sufficiently to make his contention clear—viz.:

"But it is a colossal error to suppose that race improvement, in the strictest sense of the term, can be wrought by education. The reason is simple and easily understood. Race improvement is organic; education is extra-organic. Any change or amelioration that affects the race, the stock, the blood, must be inherited; but education is not inherited, it is not inheritable. . . . The Sisyphus-stone of culture is rolled with infinite toil up the steep ascent by the fathers; it thunders instantly back, and must be rolled

¹See "The Color Line," by Prof. W. B. Smith, of Tulane University.

up again with equal agony and bloody sweat by their children. All must start at the same center of ignorance. . . . The son of the learned and the son of the unlearned have equal chance side by side in the race for learning. If the children of the cultured acquire more readily than their fellows, it is not because they have inherited parental culture, but only the parental capacity for culture; not because their parents knew more, but because they had more power to know. . . . If devotion to intellectual pursuits has any influence at all on the native quality of offspring, as it may have in extreme cases, it would seem to be more probably hurtful than helpful; for, by impairing nutrition of the germinal cells, excessive intellectual activity may induce impotence and sterility. . . . We must recognize as wholly undeniable that the characters and qualities acquired by education are not in any degree inherited. Education, then, can do much; but its mission is to the present—it cannot stamp itself upon the future. The limits of its efficiency, though absolutely wide, are relatively narrow and are speedily reached. . . . There is no hope whatever of any organic improvement, of any race betterment of the negro from any or from all extra-organic agencies of education or religion or civilization. Let us, then, educate the negro, to make him a more useful and productive, a law-abiding and happier member of the community; but let us not hope

too much from this education, if we would not be bitterly disappointed."¹

Upon my first reading of Professor Smith's admirable volume, I made the following marginal note at this point. Subsequent study leaves me less disposed to be dogmatic, but I give the note in full—viz.:

"Effort, involving use of faculty to full extent, does react upon initial capacity. Habit of life, continued through several generations, does affect mental capacity as truly as it does physical organization. Heredity and inferior endowment are against the negro, but do not make his case hopeless except in reference to the highest attainments. No race is more susceptible to the influences of its environment, as the negro is imitative, not original. No race suffers more from contact with the 'putrid stratum' of a superior race. No race is so easily benefited by association with virtuous and intelligent members of a superior race."

To this was added later:

"The practical mind readily perceives the force of Professor Smith's plea for practical education. It is clear that individual improvement does follow sane methods of education. Hence, without entering into the subtleties of the question, and judging each system of education solely by its fruits, we must recognize

¹Selections from "The Color Line," Prof. W. B. Smith, pages 160-165.

the fact that practical education, whether it reacts upon initial capacity or merely makes efficient latent powers, does greatly improve the negro. Therefore, for the practical mind, the question is not so much one of theory as to innate or acquired capacity, as it is one of practical efficiency as opposed to inefficiency resulting from ignorance and lack of training. A practical education, making the negro a better citizen and an economic factor efficient, and hence important, is the real need of the race at its present stage of development. Five hundred or one thousand years hence there may be a place for the classics in his intellectual training."

With this statement of the contention, we pass from the question of the possibility of "organic" racial improvement attained as a result of culture and training intelligently and persistently followed up through an indefinite length of time. Unable to enter fully upon this discussion, we merely indicate its scope. Whatever may be the truth in reference to "organic" race improvement, in seeking to secure immediate improvement in character and in general economic efficiency we must follow the only sane method promising ultimate "organic" improvement, which must come, if at all, by an evolutionary process.

There are but two methods by which a race may be improved. One is by the introduction of new blood, amalgamation; the other is by culture and training.

As we have shown in our chapter dealing with "Racial Integrity," the former, in so far as the negro is concerned, can be accomplished only at the expense of those fundamental, moral, and ethical principles the disregard of which dooms any race—and hence both races—to moral deterioration. The latter is immediately effective, and, by a full and intelligent realization of all present possibilities, lays the only possible foundation for any degree of "organic" betterment that may ultimately be attained. It is, therefore, wise to seek what is both immediate and sure, and to leave the ultimate and doubtful to be settled by time, which alone can reveal what is now largely a matter of speculation. We shall, therefore, turn our attention to the more practical features of the problem and endeavor to ascertain the present distinctive, physical, mental, and moral characteristics of the negro race and how its present needs may be most effectually met. From this study we hope to be able to offer some suggestions of value as to what certainly may be accomplished by right methods of education.

II.

It is essential that, at the outset, we secure, as a foundation for further study, a just yet scientifically correct estimate of the negro. That certain organic characteristics differentiate him from all other races is a self-evident fact. Of course, color and other

prominent racial markings are, perhaps, of the least importance. I have, for some years, been a close student of the negro race and have read with interest the opinions of others, as well as the results of scientific investigations, and shall endeavor to give a brief statement of some of the leading physical characteristics which differentiate this race from the Caucasian.

1. There are a host of minor physical differences which have been carefully noted and concerning which much has been written. If the theory of evolution had accomplished nothing more, we should still be forced to admit our obligation to it for the careful efforts, made under its stimulus, to find the resemblances in the structure of various animals and to trace the relation of these to each other as higher and lower forms of one connected scale. In the effort to find the "missing link" there has been much careful study of the resemblances between the higher orders of the apes and the lower, or "backward," representatives of the human race.

"Types of Mankind," by Nott and Glidden, is a very suggestive book. Read at a time when not specially interested in the present study, my recollection of its various conclusions is so indistinct that I make no attempt to quote the author's views. One thing, however, is vividly impressed upon my mind. The argument is to prove the existence of several centers

of creation instead of one, as is the case in the account of creation found in Genesis. Practically all the conclusions reached are based upon the structural differences—or similarities—noted in the animals of the different natural divisions of the earth. The conclusions in reference to the negro are now forgotten, but the reading of this book, along with some of Fowler's works on phrenology, created a keen interest in such matters which has grown with the years. In this part of the present study, we pass by the minor *differentia*, such as the shape of the hands and feet, and certain well-marked differences in various bones of the body, as well as some general structural differences, and shall discuss only what seems to be of vital importance. Most prominent and important are questions relating to nervous organizations, facial and cranial structure, cranial capacity, and general brain characteristics.

Color does not necessarily imply any degree of inferiority, and should not be given too prominent a place in our classification of the races. It is rather the unbroken record of low achievement and racial degradation which has made a black skin and a woolly head to be regarded as badges of inferiority. Were it possible for the Caucasian and the African to exchange records but retain each his present color, white would be equally, as is now black, a source of humiliation and a badge of inferiority. So long as the negro

race maintains its present status of achievement, its color will continue to be a source of humiliation.

One of the curious, but useless, questions arising just here is that of the origin of the black color of the negro race. It was once thought that this is due to his long residence in the tropics. This may be true, as there is a noticeable prevalence of darker hues among the inhabitants of the tropics than are found among the inhabitants of the far north. At first thought this seems a trifle strange, as black is a color that absorbs heat readily, a black suit being hotter in summer than a white one of corresponding material. Evidently, then, if his color is a result of adaptation to environment, it is due not to a provision for the comfort of the negro but to that principle in nature which sometimes provides for the safety of a species by accommodating color to environment. Thus the Arctic fox and the polar bear correspond in color to the ice and snow amid which they live. In a primal state in the forests and amid the luxuriant vegetable growth of the tropics black is much less conspicuous than white, and thus might prove a means of safety. Against this theory, however, stands the fact that the most brilliantly colored animals and birds of the world are to be found in the forests of the tropics. While we are able to explain the specific chemical differences in the pigments occasioning the various colors, we are left entirely to speculation as to the original causes

of these differences. Other physical differences and characteristics are infinitely more important than color.

2. Closely allied with the average cranial capacity and the average brain weight of a race is its relatively high or low nervous organization. As yet comparative neurology has not been sufficiently developed to enable us to go into any detailed comparison of the nervous organization of the negro as contrasted with that of the Caucasian. This line of investigation demands highly specialized effort. Especially is this true when the investigation is concerned with the physical basis of nerve power in general rather than with a practical test of that power as exhibited in a given case. Prof. Robert Lincoln Kelly, President of Earlham College, Chicago, has conducted a series of experiments in which, by testing the practical efficiency of the five senses, he seeks to determine the possibilities of a given child. He applies a number of ingenious tests by which he determines the "thresholds" of the five senses. In this way he is able to determine what organic deficiencies, if any, exist in a given case. This fact determined, much has been gained in deciding upon the proper course of study and the general system of management necessary for the child. Having determined by these tests the "degree of intelligence"—a term which we take as very closely related to natural ability—there need be no waste of time or energy in futile effort. With the possibilities

of a given individual determined and his deficiencies clearly indicated, the teacher should be able to secure the best results with no waste of effort upon the part of the pupil. It is a matter of deep regret that Professor Kelly has not applied these tests to a large number of negro children as a basis for comparison of the two races. There is urgent need for special investigation at this point in reference to the negro. When such investigation has been thoroughly made, I am convinced that we shall no longer prescribe the same methods of education for the negro as for the white race. Comparative anthropometry has shed much light upon the problem. Brain weight, cranial capacity, and other facts have been determined with sufficient accuracy. There is, however, a dearth of *facts* in reference to many of the nicer points involved. Beyond the fact that certain portions of the typical negro brain—believed to condition the distinctively animal propensities—are relatively abnormally developed, while other portions—believed to condition the higher faculties of mind—are relatively subnormally developed, but little is satisfactorily determined.

3. Of the peculiarities and distinctive characteristics of the typical negro skull as compared with the typical Caucasian skull, what is known as the facial angle is of the highest importance. Webster defines the facial angle as follows: "The angle formed in a profile view of the face, by two straight lines, one of which is

drawn from the middle of the external entrance of the ear to the base of the nose, and the other from the prominent center of the forehead to the most prominent part of the upper jawbone." In Webster's Unabridged Dictionary and under the word "facial" will be found the above definition, together with three drawings illustrating this angle by three skulls: one representing the typical European, in which this angle approaches very near to a right angle; one representing a typical negro skull, in which this angle is decidedly more acute; and one representing the skull of the monkey, which is distinguished by the acuteness of the facial angle and by the meagerness of its brain capacity.

Of the significance of this facial angle and its relation to natural ability, very much has been said. That it is not an absolute criterion is certain. Quality is of infinitely greater importance than quantity. Symmetrical development is also of the highest importance. A high facial angle may be associated with subnormal development in other parts of the cranium; and while certain parts of the brain are abnormally developed, there may be a subnormal development of other and equally important parts. In a general way, however, the facial angle may be taken as indicating higher or lower mental capacity as it approaches to, or recedes from, a right angle. Of course normal development of the cranium includes more than frontal capacity.

There is no satisfactory reason, however, why a large, normally proportioned brain should not be the physical basis for great mental ability as reasonably as a large, well-proportioned body for great physical strength. In either case, however, mere size, at the expense of finer qualities, can decide nothing.

The facial angle is considered as of the highest importance by phrenologists, and figures largely in all phrenological charts. Phrenology is based upon the assumption that, by a more or less scientific measurement of the cranium and by close observation of the relative development of the different parts of the brain, it is possible to ascertain both the natural ability of a given person and the practical line of activity for which he is, by nature, best fitted. Phrenology has, however, been largely discounted in the estimation of the public by the fact that it early became a means of livelihood to a class of men who, lacking scientific training and utterly incapable of arriving at accurate conclusions or of making accurate scientific measurements, made their prognostications more in accord with fee than fact.

As alchemy assisted in the development of the science of chemistry, so phrenology assisted in the development of the science of psychology. The crude cranial measurements and notations of relative cranial developments made by the phrenologist excited the interest of scientific men with the means at hand

to test the conclusions thus advanced. Most careful experiments were made, and many functions of the brain were localized. The brains of large numbers representing all the races have been carefully estimated or, after death, have been accurately weighed and carefully studied. Thus originated the "laboratory" method of psychological research. The result is that we now have an increasingly satisfactory store of information bearing upon this subject. The average brain weights, the average cranial capacity, and the relative cranial development of the various races have been determined with such care as to leave but little room for possible error. From the sources at hand, I shall now give a brief statement of the comparative capacity of the average Caucasian and the average negro skull, together with the average brain weight of each of these races.

4. Professor Smith, following Manouvrier, gives the average cranial capacity of the Caucasian race as 1,560 cubic centimeters. The skulls of thirty-two "distinguished men," on the other hand, were found "to average 1,663 cubic centimeters, or 103 cubic centimeters above the general mean." Carrying this investigation farther and basing our calculation upon the average brain weight of the negro, we would fix the average cranial capacity of the negro at "about seven per cent" less than that of the Caucasian, or about 1,451 cubic centimeters. Topinard, however, gives a much

lower figure, placing the capacity of the skulls of African negroes at 1,405 cubic centimeters, or about ten per cent less than the European average. Dr. J. Barnard Davis, also quoted by Professor Smith, fixes the internal cranial capacity of the African, basing his calculation upon an examination of 113 skulls, at "86.9 cubic inches," as against an average of "92.3 cubic inches" secured by a careful examination of "393 European skulls." ("The Color Line," page 84.)

Brain weight might be expected to follow closely the variations of internal cranial capacity. Such is the case. Of a large number of investigations conducted by scientists, each pursuing his own methods of investigation and, in a measure, independent of others pursuing similar studies, we choose such as present facts which are fundamental to this part of our study.

Dr. Davis, by the experiments referred to above, fixes the average brain weight of the 113 negroes—53 men and 60 women—at 43.89 ounces, or 1,244 grams. ("The Color Line," page 84.) Professor Smith, following the results obtained by Dr. H. Matiegka, gives a table which is of such importance that it is here given in full. It is of special interest because it does not deal with the brain weight of the negro, but shows that brain weight is assuredly a determining factor in the stratifications of the white race. The table is as follows:

	Grams.
"14 day laborers.....	1,410.0
34 laborers.....	1,433.5
14 porters, watchmen, etc.....	1,435.7
123 mechanics, workers at trades, etc....	1,449.6
28 business men, teachers, clerks, professional musicians, etc.....	1,468.5
22 college-bred scholars, physicians, etc.	1,500.0
235 average of all.....	1,451.5
or 51.20 ounces."	("The Color line," page 87.)

It will be noted that of the 235 cases here investigated, 14 were "laborers at odd jobs who could not learn a trade or find steady employment," and that, as occupations require greater brain power, those who are successful in the keen competition for such stations in life are, on the average, possessed of larger brains than are those following less exacting pursuits.

It will also be noted that the occupations given in the above table are those followed almost exclusively by men, and the natural inference is that all were men. As there is a slight difference between the brain weight of men and that of women—due largely to difference in average bodily weight of the sexes—and as more than half of the 113 negroes were women, some correction should doubtless be made, but the general result would not be changed materially by even the most liberal allowance. These figures, on their face, show a difference in favor of the white

race of 207.5 grams. This may well be taken as indicative of the margin of the Caucasian over the African in the struggle of life. How decisive this margin is may be determined by an impartial comparison of the history of the two races.

The relative disadvantage of the negro does not end here. It cannot be said that even among the white races brain weight and internal cranial capacity may be regarded as absolute factors in determining mental possibilities. A third factor is recognized by scientists in the details of the organization of the brain and in its relative fineness or coarseness of structure. Certain markings are taken to indicate the quality of the brain. The "sculpturing of the brain surface by gyri and sulci" is relied upon by some scientists as indicating a highly organized brain. Some of the dullest and slowest minds are lodged in brains which, for mere bulk, would indicate great mental ability.

In a general way it may be safely asserted that the results of this line of investigation demonstrate clearly that not only is the brain of the negro decidedly smaller than that of other races, but that it also lacks that higher and more incisive organization which is met with in the brain of the Caucasian and other races. The relative development of the typical negro brain does not indicate great possibilities in the realm of abstract mental activities,

The conclusions of all scientists who have made investigations along these lines are in practical agreement in so far as the physical facts are concerned. There is also remarkable unanimity in the interpretation of these physical facts, the most important variations being found, not among scientists themselves, but among those who seek to interpret the facts furnished by the scientists. Among these, almost the only dissenting voice is from those who come to the study as avowed advocates and pleaders for the race. We, therefore, accept as a fact established beyond all cavil, by careful scientific investigation of the entire physical basis for intellectual activities, that the possibilities of the average negro mind are decidedly lower than those of the average mind of any other race. The history of the negro race is exactly what might be expected of a race laboring under such relatively fundamental disabilities.

5. There is another fact of vital importance which has to do with certain developments in the cranium of the young negro, and which is believed to exert a decisive influence upon the ultimate, imperfect development of the negro brain. We refer to the difference in the length of time through which the development of the brain of the two races extends. Upon this point also there is marked unity of opinion among scientists, who agree that the brain of the negro reaches its highest development much earlier than

does that of the Caucasian. This is explained by the earlier closing of the sutures of the skull of the African. Thus, while the normal physical development of the Caucasian brain continues at least to the age of thirty—sometimes beyond forty—the negro brain attains its full physical development very much earlier. It is, therefore, of the highest importance that this fact shall be recognized and that the methods pursued in the education of the negro youth shall be such as will meet this and other physical peculiarities of his mental development. In the discussions following, this early mental maturity, or rather this premature halting of the process of mental development, will be treated as of prime importance—indeed, as being quite as fundamental in determining the methods to be pursued in the education of the negro youth, and what may be attained by right methods of education, as are the facts concerning his inferior mental endowment.

The sprightliness of very young negro children is often very noticeable. I have often been impressed in studying them that they are more sprightly and show better control of themselves than do white children of corresponding age. Nor is there so great a contrast in the relative shape and size of the head of the negro child and that of the white child at birth and in early childhood as develops later. The more important divergencies of the two do not begin to be very marked until the age of four is reached. With

each succeeding year, however, these become more and more noticeable, until the age of puberty is reached, when very decided contrasts are apparent. This period, with the white youth, is marked by the fuller development of all his powers and the casting aside of many of his childish limitations. With the average negro youth it is marked by the closure of the sutures of the skull, the arrest of the physical development of the brain, and a certain dullness and listlessness which are in sharp contrast with the bright promise of earlier years. It is also evident that this change comes somewhat earlier in the negro than in the white youth, in whom it occurs at about the age of twelve with females and fourteen with males.

In view of this change and its consequences, it is evident that the best results in negro education must attend the work done before the age of fourteen is reached. For two reasons I am convinced that the kindergarten system of instruction, beginning not later than the close of the third year of the child's life, would prove of inestimable value to the negro child.

The first reason is based upon the abnormal development of the imitative faculty noticeable throughout the life of the negro, but especially prominent during childhood. The methods of the kindergarten could be so varied that they would certainly develop a manual dexterity that would not be lost with advancing years, and which would lay the foundation for future

manual training. Believing, as I do, that the only possibilities open to the entire race lie along industrial lines, I am convinced that this preliminary development of manual dexterity would prove of far greater value to the negro than any other equipment with which he could begin life.

The second reason for advocating the kindergarten training is based upon the fact that the great majority of negro children are reared in homes where there is little or nothing to stimulate mental activity and little or nothing to give right direction to moral development. Those who have not come into personal contact with that which, for lack of a better name, we shall term the home life of the poorer class of negroes, and especially of that increasingly prominent, semi-vagrant class who are herded together in the cities and towns, can have very little conception of the utter abandon obtaining, or of how little calculated to train a child for future usefulness enters into the daily life of many little negroes.

The quality of the home must depend primarily upon the character of the parents. Given an ignorant—often an immoral—mother; a father often viciously thriftless; a cheerless and comfortless hovel in which to live; the worst section of a town, both as respects buildings and moral conditions—pursue these contrasts *ad libitum*, and we obtain some conception of the atmosphere in which an increasingly large num-

ber of negro children are we shall not say reared, but rather doomed, to lives of crime, and made a menace to all the better interests of society. Often the mother supports the family, including some man temporarily *in loco patris*; for the marital relation, with the lower class of negroes, has no sanctity whatever, but is changed with every whim, and usually without legal formalities. In such instances the children have not a semblance of control, while every feature of their surroundings contributes to the development of the beastly propensities of their natures. Unless rescued from such surroundings, children—white or black—cannot become otherwise than debased and degraded. Practically the only hope of making useful citizens of children born to a heritage of vice lies in getting them away from such influences as obtain under such conditions as are mentioned above.

I am convinced, however, that it is impracticable for the South to furnish kindergarten training for any large per cent of the negro children, or even for that class of negro children who stand most in need of such training. The South is already bearing a great burden in the maintenance of a double school system. The additional expense would not be willingly borne by the public, nor are trained teachers available for this class of work, even were the financial difficulties removed. Could such training be provided for a single generation of negro children, it would certainly

work such a transformation of the race as nothing else could produce. From being considered a luxury for the rich only, the kindergarten is rapidly coming to be prized most highly for the assistance it is capable of giving to the children of the poor, especially in those cases where the moral and ethical training of the home is seriously defective. If we may judge by the limitations and the degradation of the parents, and by the consequent utter absence of efficient home training so frequently met with among the negroes, none need its helpful influences and direction more urgently than do the negro children.

III.

The public school training of the negro children should differ materially from that of the white children. This difference should be in accord with the results and the suggestions of scientific investigation concerning the fundamental differences in the physical basis for mental activities found to exist in the two races. It is also of the highest importance that the possibilities open to the two races should be carefully consulted. "Cultural" studies should give place to those which have for their object immediate, practical efficiency in some direction assuring physical support and a measure of economic independence. Could manual training occupy one-half of the hours devoted to school work, the remainder being devoted to the

ordinary branches of an English education, both being supplemented by most careful and thorough grounding in the fundamentals of ethics, it is highly probable that infinitely more satisfactory results would be attained than are possible under present methods.

In all efforts to educate negro children, rigid discipline is also more necessary than is the case with children of the white race of corresponding age. As long as the instincts of the African are allowed free play, it is useless to attempt improvement of any kind. A kindly, yet firm, control, secured by severe corporal punishment where other means fail, is absolutely necessary. Indeed, the curbing of riotous instinct and unreasoning impulse constitutes the most important end to be gained in the education and training of the negro. With these unchecked, nothing can prove of permanent benefit. Until discipline takes the place of instinct and reason that of impulse, there can be no firm basis for either material progress or moral character.

The primary aim of education in the case of the negro child, therefore, must be to secure character-effect rather than to impart information or to produce economic values. So long as this character-effect is wanting, effort in all other directions will necessarily produce disappointing results. Fortunately, however, improvement in moral character is not

inconsistent with, but rather to be attained through, that system of education and training which has to do with the development of economic efficiency. That much of the effort directed toward the education of the negro has proved a failure—sometimes worse than a failure—is due largely to the fact that the methods pursued have been such as are successful with white children coming from homes where character is regarded as of the first importance, and where its development may safely be left to parental and other influences in the home. If the negro race derives any general and permanent benefit from the schools maintained in its behalf, this must come primarily through such moral influences and ethical teachings, enforced by such wholesome supervision and disciplinary restraints as shall supplement the deficiencies of its home training. Especially is this true of primary and secondary schools. That the primary and secondary schools are proving inadequate just at this point is manifest to all who study this feature of the negro problem. This failure is largely due to two causes. In the first place, the character of the teachers employed is often such as to prevent any great benefit accruing to the students. Negro teachers, as a class, have neither the necessary preparation for their work nor those qualities of character which the situation demands. Especially is this true of those employed in the rural districts and in the smaller schools, where

competent supervision is all but impossible, and where salaries are such as to make adequate preparation impracticable.

Having had several opportunities to study groups of teachers employed in the negro public schools of Southern counties, I am prepared to pity from the depths of my heart any child whose only hope for intellectual stimulus and awakening, and for a moral uplift, lies in some of the ignorant, frivolous creatures holding low-grade certificates entitling them to hold positions in these schools. No white people would intrust their children to a correspondingly poor grade of teachers, yet the situation of the average negro child makes him far more dependent upon his teachers than is the case with the white child. These certificates are to the effect that these teachers are qualified to instruct children coming from homes many of which are deficient in all that tends to elevate, and who are, therefore, desperately in need of right example, as well as right precept. There are competent negro teachers, many of whom are possessed of special aptitude for their work, and are successful in it. There is, however, scarcely a county superintendent of education in the South who will not heartily indorse what is here said in reference to the scarcity of negro teachers whose preparation and character fit them for the places they hold. A very large per cent of the teachers in the negro schools are mulattoes. For the

practical significance of this fact, see the chapter on "Racial Integrity."

In the second place, I would attribute the low grade of the negro public schools to the attitude of the white race. I do not mean to infer that this is due to any hostility to negro schools. The Southern States are making heroic efforts to provide educational facilities for the negro race. There is also an increasingly pronounced sentiment among the white people in favor of making better provision for these schools. Few, if any, of the Southern States have taken a backward step in this matter. Propositions to divide the school funds between the races in proportion to the taxes paid by each, while sometimes discussed, meet with no popular favor and could not pass a single Southern Legislature. Yet, the defects of the negro schools are in part due to the fact that the whites are not giving to them that sympathetic, personal supervision which is rendered absolutely necessary by the peculiar conditions which obtain, and for the control of which none are so well fitted as are the representative white people residing in the immediate vicinity of these schools. As it now is, the money is voted, and its expenditure, together with the details of the supervision of the school, is left too much with the county superintendent, whose personal knowledge of the situation is usually derived from an annual or, at most, a quarterly visit. This is all well;

but such schools need constant attention, and that of such a personal nature as the representative whites in the immediate vicinity can give better than any one else. Could a general, personal interest in the education of the negro be aroused throughout the South, the benefit to the race would be very great.

IV.

Separate Churches and schools for the races, much as these have been condemned by idealists and theorizers, are, in practical operation, better for both races. After a careful study of conditions where negro children are admitted to the same schools and subjected to the same discipline as the white children, I am convinced that the best interests of both races are better conserved when they are kept wholly separate in these and all other social relations.¹ What-

¹"It is an injury to the children of the weaker race to be educated in an environment which is constantly subjecting them to adverse feeling and opinion. The result must be the development of a morbid race consciousness without any compensating increase in racial self-respect." ("The Present South," Murphy, page 37.)

The following, which appeared in the Nashville *Banner* of January 11, 1907, under a heading of "Feeling between Races Culminates in Riot," may also be of interest:

"Chicago, January 11.—Race feeling, which has stirred the pupils of the Copernicus School for more than a week, culminated in a riot yesterday between the negro and white

ever of benefit may seemingly result to the negro is quite overshadowed by the spirit of offensive self-assertion and arrogance usually developed, which not only makes the negro unfit for the possibilities open to him, but also tends to prejudice the white race against him. Some of the most bitter denunciations of the race that I have heard during the past five years have come from Northern people who have formed their estimate of the entire race from contact with a few specimens thus educated. On the other hand, the intimate association with negro children can add nothing to the moral or the intellectual welfare of the white child. In any numbers, they are usually a source of moral contamination to the white children. If the present movement of negroes from the South to the North continues, it will probably cause separate schools to be established throughout the North wherever the negroes settle in large numbers.¹

children, and at least a dozen of the pupils were injured. Between two and three hundred children took part in the fight that waged about the doors of the school, stones and clubs as well as hat pins being used before the police arrived."

¹Mr. Murphy is right when he says: ". . . the point of helpful contact must not be placed among the masses of the young, and the leverage of inter-racial coöperation must not seek its fulcrum upon the tender receptivities and the unguarded immaturities of childhood." ("The Present South," page 36.)

v.

The problems incident to the higher education of the negro are very much more complex than are those connected with his training in the primary and the secondary schools. There is no question but that it is the imperative duty of all the States to provide educational facilities for all their youth, and to make education, at least through the eighth grade, compulsory. Beyond this point only exceptional cases among the negroes will profit by purely literary studies. In reference to special training in technical schools, or for the professions, there is not that unanimity of opinion which is noted in reference to the primary and the secondary courses of study. Until the present time there has been less of competition throughout the South than must come in the near future. In view of the limitations of the negro already noted, a question arises concerning the wisdom of that race entering into any unnecessary competition with the white race. It is quite evident that as competition grows sharper the weaker must be at a correspondingly greater disadvantage. In a general way it is true that the hope of the negro race in America lies in its being able to avoid conflicts and competitions with the white race; or, in other words, upon its not entering into unnecessary conflict of interest with the white race. It is one thing to tolerate, or even to assist, a man whose sphere of activity is tributary to your own, or at least not

antagonistic to your interests. It is quite another thing when forced to meet him as a rival in your own sphere.

At present the negro is in serious competition only with the laboring class of the white race, and almost wholly in the field of unskilled labor at that. Still, the extent to which this competition is resented is indicated by the fact that he is debarred from many labor organizations composed of other than skilled laborers. The field of competition will extend as rapidly as the negro, in any numbers, comes to knock at other doors seeking admission to other and already overcrowded fields. Self-interest will soon turn all the professions against him. The same force, acting within legitimate bounds, will turn skilled labor against him, as it will also other interests which he is not able to oppose successfully.

The reason for this is twofold: Racial, in that the negro is an unassimilable element in our population; and economic, in that the negro cheapens and degrades the standard of living in every sphere which he enters.

The struggle of the American laborer has been to prevent this degradation of the standard of living. In this struggle he has had to compete with the pauper labor of the world both at our own doors and through imported goods manufactured by this labor elsewhere. The problem of the competition of the immigrant la-

borer himself has never been a very serious one in the United States, except in the case of unassimilable peoples. The wonderful power of assimilation characterizing the American people soon brings the European immigrant laborer into sympathy with American ideals, and he ceases to be a menace.

Hurtful as is the tariff in some directions, especially to our agricultural interests, sending other nations to every other market in the world rather than to us for raw materials and food stuffs, and fostering as it does monopolistic combinations, the American people tolerate it, with its undenied evil tendencies, because of the hope that, by reason of its protection to our manufacturers, the standard of living of the laboring man may be maintained at a point enabling him to own a comfortable home, educate his children, and escape the degradation incident to poverty. If monopolistic combinations ever overreach themselves and threaten to degrade the standard of living by eliminating competition among the employers of labor, the natural remedy would seem to lie in such a reduction of the tariff as will crush the offending combination. Whenever the tariff is recognized as a menace to the laboring man, we may expect such revisions and alterations as will cause it to cease to be a menace, or for the principle of protection to be abandoned.

Some years ago the West was threatened with a deluge of cheap, unassimilable labor in the Chinese

coolie. The standard of living with this class of the Chinese is very low—scarcely above the point of bare existence. We understand now that what at the time attracted but little attention, because regarded as due largely to unreasoning prejudice, was really *the crisis* in the development of the Pacific Slope, if not of the entire West. By refusing the cheap labor of the Chinese, the West has attracted the most desirable class of immigrants that the world affords. The marvelous development of the resources of the West, as well as its rapid increase in population, is largely due to the high wages paid for all classes of labor.

Not only has the decision to exclude the cheap Chinese labor hastened the development of the West and given it a homogeneous, assimilable population, but it has also given a definite and beneficial direction to that development. We may reasonably expect the West to become ultimately the land of small farms and individual enterprise, where, with the Chinese labor, it would have developed into a land of large individual holdings with a correspondingly degraded laboring class, the whole situation inviting non-resident exploitation.

The presence of the negro in such large numbers makes the contrast between some sections of the South and the West very marked in this respect, the South being now confronted by something of the economic and social conditions that would have confronted the

West had it been deluged with the cheap labor of the unassimilable Chinese coolie. The presence of the negro has, until recently, largely kept white immigration from the South. The more recent industrial development of the South is attracting many immigrants for such classes of work as do not involve competition with the negro. On the other hand, farm laborers in the West command from twenty-five to fifty dollars per month. In the South, while the season is longer, farm labor may be had for from eight to twenty dollars per month. The average Western laborer is worth double as much as the average negro, as he is competent to handle machinery and may be trusted to do honest and efficient labor without supervision, while constant oversight is necessary in the case of the negro. This makes the negro better fitted for work in large gangs, where the cost of oversight is relatively low for each one employed. This quality of negro labor tends to make the large plantation a necessity. Until the standard of individual efficiency can be raised by proper educational methods, negro labor must continue to exercise a depressing influence upon every industrial interest in which it is employed.

VI.

What has been said in this seeming digression prepares the way for the consideration of a feature of the problem of the higher education of the negro which,

while usually ignored, is exceedingly important. In a general way it is true that whatever tends to solidify the negro race will produce a corresponding solidarity on the part of the white race. Professional negroes can never hope to serve any considerable number of the white race. Their only hope for patronage lies in their own race, and for the patronage of that race there will be more or less of competition from white men in the same profession. It is, therefore, necessary for the professional negroes to excite a measure of racial solidarity in order to secure patronage. Thus it will inevitably come about that, in proportion to the number of points at which the negro race comes into competition with the white race, there will arise, if not antagonisms, at least a loss of sympathy, not merely for the few negroes involved, but for the whole race.

Racial independence and racial pride may be so directed as to prove very helpful along moral lines, but may easily pass into useless and injurious antagonisms along economic and social lines. Economic solidarity of the negro race can only mean a corresponding solidarity of the white race. Negro doctors, lawyers, politicians, and merchants mean largely the loss of the good will of the corresponding classes of influential white men, just as truly as abundant negro labor means either conflict with white labor or the ultimate degradation of the white laborer to the standard of living of the black. The "poor white"

so often mentioned in antislavery literature has his counterpart in the unskilled white laborer of the present South.

Whenever conflict arises, the negro is the chief sufferer. Those racial characteristics which made it possible for a mere handful of white adventurers to secure all the slaves desired, although the negroes of Africa numbered high into the millions, still exist. It is not possible for the negroes to maintain themselves in open rupture with the white race, nor is there a likelihood that any considerable number of negroes, if left to their own initiative, would attempt to order their business affairs in such a way as to render them economically independent of, much less antagonistic to, the white race. Should such an effort be made, the race problem would be rendered very acute, if it did not lead to the separation of the races. I am satisfied that the only hope of the negro in America lies in his ability to live peaceably with the white race, and so to link his interests with those of the white race as to avoid all unnecessary friction.

If this view of the situation is correct, it must affect the ends to be attained by the education of the negro as well as the character of education suitable for the race. There is as yet no call for negroes in professional life except as teachers and as preachers. These callings can excite no competitions, but offer a field in which worthy negroes will find the white race

in hearty sympathy with them and ready to assist them in every possible way. Perhaps the greatest danger connected with the attempts to educate the negro for the professions, and into competition with professional white men—especially as these attempts are made by those who take a view of this matter differing from the one here expressed—is that such opinions will be implanted as will necessarily provoke antagonisms, thus involving—and discouraging—other members of the race who would not become involved except for unwise leadership. What is here said suggests one of the vital problems of the higher education of the negro.

So long as the negro problem was a mere matter of theory in the North, the negro was encouraged in many directions which were of doubtful benefit to him. The recent movement of negroes to the North and West will doubtless tend to unify the white race. Fear of competition with the negro has kept the white immigrant from the South. It is not likely, then, that such competition will be welcomed elsewhere, especially after conditions of life have passed that easy stage incident to a new and partially developed country. Now that so many Northern communities have to deal with large numbers of negroes, many of whom are semi-vagrant, vicious, and even criminal, we may confidently expect more charity to be displayed toward the South in its dealings with the negro.

VII.

With this brief statement of the results of scientific investigations concerning the physical basis for the mental achievements of the negro race and of some suggestions incident to this physical basis, and with this brief discussion of what is involved in the higher education and the professional training of a necessarily small number of negroes, we pass to a consideration of the institutions of learning maintained for the benefit of the race. That our opinion of these is not wholly favorable is not due to any failure to recognize the sincerity of those engaged in the work, nor yet of those who supply the funds necessary for its maintenance. The grounds upon which these are open to criticism have already been indicated, and may be stated—viz.: (1) Disregard of the interests of the white race, and therefore of the interests of humanity; (2) disregard of the moral welfare of the negro race; and (3) disregard of the adaptabilities of the race and of the possibilities open to it at the present time.

1. We have said elsewhere that any improvement that can come to the negro race through amalgamation with the white will necessarily be made at the expense of the white race. If an average brain weight of 51.20 ounces (Matiegka) gives an average mental ability which we may represent by x , and an average brain weight of 43.89 ounces (Tiedemann) gives an

average intellectual efficiency which we may represent by y , then we may state the problem as follows, $\frac{x+y}{2} = m$, the brain weight that would probably characterize the mulatto representing an equal infusion of the blood of each race. Solving the above problem, we find that $m=47.54$ ounces. This would mean, therefore, a lowering of the average brain weight of the white race by 3.66 ounces, or about seven per cent. Other estimates vary from these figures, but all agree that there is, as a result of amalgamation, a decided lowering of brain weight as compared with that of the white race.

The question arises here whether the white race is under as great obligation to elevate the negro as it is to preserve its own high standard. Should we go to a practical farmer with an analogous proposition looking to the improvement of the mustang at the expense of his thoroughbreds, or of the range cattle of the West at the expense of his strain of Jerseys, we might well expect him to ridicule such a proposition. He would tell of the rigid selection extending through generations, if not through centuries of effort required to perfect the strain; of pedigrees traceable to some remote date; of the decreased value of the hybrid, etc. Perhaps the day may come when the future of the human race shall receive as careful attention as is now given to that of the better breeds of horses, cows, sheep, hogs, and dogs.

It is not necessary to elaborate this thought. Its simple statement is sufficient. If the loss of a few ounces of brain weight at the initial amalgamation were the only attendant evil result, this might ultimately be overcome as the strain of negro blood gradually disappeared with the ages. But inherent qualities and racial characteristics of the white race as expressed in delicacy of brain and nerve organization, which determine higher intellectual ability, would remain impaired long after the mere physical effects of amalgamation had ceased to attract attention. When we consider the moral features involved in the amalgamation of the races, we may well believe that the heritage of moral degradation consequent upon it would be even slower to disappear from the mongrel race than would any mere physical or mental degradation from the present standard of the white race. We must, therefore, interpret every phase of the negro problem and estimate every effort made in behalf of the race by the effect produced upon the moral standards of the race; or, in other words, by the practical attitude maintained toward amalgamation.

2. It is therefore manifest that the interests of both races in this respect are identical, and that the best way to conserve the interests of the white race is to raise the moral standard of the negro race. Important as may be the interests of the white race, and as essential as it may be that the negro race shall realize

its adaptabilities and its possibilities, the moral welfare of the negro race is unquestionably of the highest importance to both races. It is our contention that, so far as we have been able to ascertain, these schools, without a single exception, are conducted in manifest disregard of those fundamental social ideals and safeguards which may never be ignored with impunity. By this statement we do not mean to make the impression that there is any intentional, or even conscious, lowering of the moral standard as it affects the students in attendance more than is the case with other members of the race. Such is certainly not the case. The contention rises above the individual and seeks to interpret the general tendencies of a situation. The ground of criticism lies in the failure of these schools to stand for the best interests of both races. The presence of so large a per cent of mulattoes, and their standing as compared with the pure negro students attending these institutions, is all the evidence required to establish the justness of this criticism.

The institutions of which we speak are in position to make a strong, effective stand for the morality of the negro race. Very many of them are not dependent upon tuition fees for support. With their current expenses provided by income from endowment, or by annual appropriations made by mission boards, or by special philanthropic donations, they have had the rather unique privilege of choosing their students; and

have thus been in position to determine largely the ideals of the student body, as well as able to control their own policies. This opportunity to stand for the highest moral standards is rendered still greater by the fact that many of the students of these institutions are partially or wholly supported from funds under the control of those charged with the administration of the affairs of these institutions.

We have elsewhere (see "Racial Integrity," page 35) called attention to the eagerness with which the mulatto often avails himself of any opportunity to secure an education. We have also called attention to the indifference of the average negro to anything requiring wise forethought and persistent effort. To this difference between the mulatto and the negro is no doubt largely due the fact that the mulatto so largely predominates in these institutions. Competition with other schools may also have had its influence. The desire to make a show in numbers—a "besetting sin" with all schoolmen—may have influenced some of those directly in charge of these schools, and who were eager to win the approval of the boards employing them.

I am convinced, however, that the true explanation of conditions now obtaining in these institutions implies no reflection upon the goodness of heart or the sincerity of purpose either of those actually engaged in this work or of those who give so liberally of their

means to support it. There is such a thing as a zeal for men, for individuals, which tends to exhaust itself upon the individual rather than to look beyond men, a mass of disconnected units, to man, a collective whole, whose interests must always take precedence over those of the individuals composing the whole. Pitiable as may be the lot of those who find themselves, through no fault of their own, in such a position that their interests are in irreconcilable conflict with those of humanity, the principle of "the greatest good to the greatest number" must prevail. The rights of man prevail whenever a criminal is punished for any crime against society, whenever private property is condemned for public uses, whenever the citizen is called upon to risk his life in defense of his country, and should prevail whenever individual interests clash with the general welfare of the public.

Humanity has interests which are seldom imperiled upon the battlefield, interests that are inseparably connected with individual character, with pure homes, with healthful social ideals. In comparison with these interests others sink into insignificance. With these carefully preserved, humanity is safe. With these neglected, no amount of intellectual culture, no amount of manual skill, can long uphold any race. The chief grounds of criticism of these institutions arise from the fact of the extreme individualism shown in their

tical administration. Have these institutions misinterpreted the spirit of Christianity?

Christianity is essentially an individualistic religion that it appeals to the individual conscience and tends to develop an individuality of character which persists throughout eternity. It is, however, individualistic in order that it may, in the truest sense, a force in the uplift of humanity. It was the policy of the early Church to seek out the individual and bring him into personal contact with the regenerating forces of Christianity. That there should have been, as time passed, some accommodation to the paganism by which the Church was surrounded and in which its converts were drawn is not cause for surprise. Of one feature of Christianity the apostles were especially jealous, and the early Christian teachers followed their example with commendable care. While the door was closed to none, there was a rigid adherence to the moral law, and wherever the gospel gained a foothold the Christians stood for a standard of moral life unknown among their heathen neighbors. It is those influences which ultimately gained the ascendancy in the Western world were, at first, embodied in the regenerate individuals composing the early Church. What attitude the apostles and early Christian teachers would have assumed toward social wrongs and civil abuses had they been supported by the sentiment of millions of Christians, instead of being

ing roughly handled by mobs of infuriated Jews and brutal heathen, must remain a matter of speculation.

The modern revival of Christianity, beginning with the Reformation, has been essentially a reassertion of the individualistic element so prominent in the early Church. In the great zeal for souls displayed, trophies have often been won from among the social outcasts. This is especially true of those independent movements which have been intensely evangelical in their nature. It is the glory of the Christian religion that it reaches out a helping hand to the vilest of social offenders. It is one thing, however, to open a door of hope for individual offenders against the social order on condition of repentance and social reformation, and quite another to suspend, in so far as one race is concerned, all those restrictions by which social purity and personal virtue must be preserved. The worst calamity that can befall any people is that their moral and ethical code, imperfect at best, should become vitiated through its practical application. As it is given to us to see the situation, this is, in so far as the negro of 1865 may be said to have acquired a moral and ethical standard, what has occurred, and what is still being done by the attitude of the white race toward the moral phases of the negro problem.

Christianity can never cease to be an individualistic religion in the sense mentioned above. Primitive methods, however, such as were employed in the

planting of the faith, are not to be followed implicitly after Christianity is once well established and the Church in position to reap as well as to sow. The conception of Christianity as a world-wide force, dominating peoples and nations and regulating all by its moral sway, is one yet to be fully realized. In the light of the present day that is a false conception which would regard all humanity as engulfed in a moral pollution from which an occasional individual is to be separated, leaving the mass untouched and its surroundings unimproved. The aggressiveness of Christians, as they now struggle for moral and social reform, and for a clean and wholesome moral atmosphere for humanity, even though a vigorous policy of elimination is found necessary in order to attain this end, is perhaps the most practical, if not the highest, manifestation the world has yet seen of the "Spirit of Christ" at the hands of his followers. "The world for Christ" in the sense of such a sweeping moral regeneration and social reorganization that his teachings may be realized everywhere, and the "paths made plain" so that humanity may be delivered from as many as possible of its besetments, is the laudable ideal toward which Christian people are now looking and directing their efforts. The negro race, most desperately in need of "deliverance from temptation," seems to be the last to share in the benefits of such social betterment.

Consideration for the negro race as a whole has had but little place in the efforts made in its behalf since the close of the Civil War. Practically everything has been done on the individualistic basis. Especially is this true of the work of the educational institutions founded in the years immediately following the Civil War. These had the advantage of entering a new field and the responsibility of establishing the ideals that were to prevail.

The opportunity that came to them then cannot return. Their policy is now settled, their constituency has been won, their future has been determined. That these institutions will continue to cherish the mulatto and continue to advance his interests is reasonably sure. That they will continue to send out mulatto teachers and preachers whose origin utterly unfits them to impress those lessons of virtue and chastity which the negro so desperately needs to learn, that they will continue to send into professional life those whose success will only still further strengthen the influences already at work for the destruction of laudable race pride and the home life of the negro and for the degradation of the white race, is equally certain. The negro race is poorly able to spare the least of social stimulation to right living and to a high moral standard, and the white race is poorly able to spare aught from its present relatively high standard of intellectuality.

Had the North, beginning with 1865, seen clearly what amalgamation involves for both races and made such discriminations and distinctions as would have called the attention of both races to the real meaning of the situation, putting the mulatto at sufficient disadvantage to have preserved the morals of the negro race at least so far as could have been done by refusing to sanction its immoralities, very much could have been done to tone up the morals of both races. Unfortunately, nothing of the kind was done. On the other hand, almost without exception, the mulatto was elevated to positions of honor and trust in both Church and State. Looking backward, the mulatto of 1865 might well have been considered as the victim of the system of slavery. Looking forward, he might well have been seen to be the menace of two races. The backward view seems to have prevailed. The mulatto, rather than the negro, was gathered into the schools and soon put forward to teach the negro race; he, rather than the negro, was recognized as the political representative of the negro race; he, rather than the negro, was put forward as the spiritual guide of the negro race.

This state of affairs continues, intensified rather than corrected, until the present time, so that we now find the mulatto largely monopolizing what is, by those who have not given the matter careful thought, intended for the benefit of the negro race. There is

urgent need that this feature of the educational problem be carefully investigated. Such investigation is all that is needed to show that what is here suggested is a criticism by no means harsher than existing conditions justify.

3. What has been said elsewhere in this volume makes it unnecessary to discuss, at any great length, the failure of the institutions for the higher education of the negro race to produce results commensurate with their opportunities. It is sufficient to say that, with a few notable exceptions, these institutions have followed the time-honored educational methods which have produced such excellent results with the youth of other races. Heredity, environment, inherent qualities, and racial characteristics have been ignored in a desperate effort to make a classical scholar of many a boy whose intellectual endowments scarcely fitted him for success in the humbler walks of life, where he would have been shielded from its fiercer competitions. The average negro, after spending a few years in such an institution, usually enters life yearning for what is unattainable, either educated out of sympathy with his race or into the temptation to promote racial antagonism in order to gain a livelihood. This fact has been noted and commented upon by the Southern people, and hence arises that deep-seated, latent antagonism of the Southern people to these institutions. However we may explain the fact,

with the average Southern man this antagonism does exist. It is sometimes attributed to the Civil War, sometimes to unwise or even insulting utterances by Northern champions of the race, sometimes to resentment inspired by the presence of "missionaries" under the very shadow of Southern churches, sometimes to the political situation. There are those to whom these and other influences calculated to arouse antagonisms appeal very powerfully. There is, however, an increasingly important class of Southern men who are able to read the future and who see clearly that the methods of many of these institutions utterly ignore the needs of the race, and hence are either unable to direct the race into those channels of activity where it may find employment to which it is adapted or to assist the race to realize its possibilities under its present surroundings.

The past few years have been marked by almost revolutionary changes in the courses of study offered by some of the leading colleges and universities. These changes are, for the most part, designed to adapt the work of educational institutions to the practical needs of life. This is the case with institutions which not only draw their patronage from a race with more than a thousand years of civilization and proud achievement to its credit, but also with those institutions which draw their patronage from those members of that race who are not face to face with the problem of winning

bread, but who have ample time and means for the highest "cultural" effects to be attained through the classics. In those institutions designed to help the negro race, there should be such a readjustment of the courses of study as shall adapt the work done to the actual, pressing needs of the race. Only when the adaptabilities and the possibilities of the race, as determined by its natural abilities and its environment, are duly considered, may a system of training be settled upon which will give the best results. Incidentally, by such a modification of these methods and aims, the economic objections to these institutions would be largely removed. It would be well if these institutions could promote harmony and good will between the races, thus preparing the way for the advance of the negro should larger opportunity present itself, and as new doors are opened to him.

The economic ideals of Hampton and Tuskegee are those which should have prevailed at the close of the Civil War. It was impossible, perhaps, that such could have been the case. An era of experiment was to have been expected. These institutions, however, are not upon higher moral ground as respects amalgamation than are those which neglect the economic and industrial training of their students.

For at least two reasons, then, the institutions now under discussion are a positive menace to both the negro and the white race. If they did nothing more

than to educate the negro out of sympathy with his own race and his necessary environment, or into the temptation to create racial antagonism, this would be sufficient ground for censure. When, however, they, in their practical administration, utterly fail to enforce fundamental moral principles, when they "cause the bastard to thrive" to the detriment of the race they seek to help, when they practically suspend that part of the moral code which relates to social purity, we feel some sympathy for the man who characterizes their work as a "forty-year-long crime"—a crime not merely against humanity at large, but particularly against the race they seek to assist.

VIII.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist in reference to the higher education of the negro and in reference to his professional training, there seems to be unanimity of opinion that from this race there should be selected and carefully trained a sufficient number of its best representatives—negroes, not mulattoes, I would insist—to supply it with preachers and with teachers. It is not best that the white and the black races should unite in one common Christian communion, but that the latter have separate Churches conducted by themselves with only such advice and help from the white race as the true Christian spirit may prompt. Nor is it best that the two races should attend

the same schools. The methods of instruction and discipline suited to one race will not produce the best results in the case of the other. Apart from the interests of the white child,¹ it is well to remember that race prejudice does exist, and that close personal contact does not remove it. Its influence upon the young negro is less baneful when he is not made to feel it constantly.² Again, the separate school system should be made an important factor in the development of that commendable race pride and independence which are so essential in checking race amalgamation.

These quotations are very important, and the reader is urged to refer to them at this point.

No conviction is taking stronger hold upon thoughtful Southern men than that concerning the absolute necessity of educating the negro along those lines which shall make him able to support himself and his family comfortably and decently, and able to maintain at least sufficient economic independence to prevent him from becoming a prey to designing and unprincipled white men. The social and the economic features of the problem inseparably connected with the moral degradation and economic inefficiency of the negro are so important that, at the risk of tediousness, I shall discuss them at some length.

Mr. Page, in his admirable study, "The Negro:

¹See footnote, page 254.

²See footnote, page 253.

The Southerner's Problem," page 295, says: "And, lastly, I am satisfied that the final settlement of the race problem must be by way of elevating both races." Truer words were never spoken.

The presence of any considerable number of ignorant, degraded citizens constitutes an ever-present menace to free institutions. Wherever such is the case, a class of men will soon appear able to exploit the unfortunates. The corruption existing in our larger cities is often made possible largely through the presence of a relatively small number of men who are both ignorant and degraded. Their vote is a purchasable commodity. Nothing is so effectual a bar to clean men entering the political arena as is the knowledge that they will be forced to deal with such a class of voters. The presence of such a class in any numbers has its effect upon business interests also. Sooner or later there will appear a class of men who secure a livelihood—often wealth—by preying upon the ignorance and the necessities of the ignorant and the helpless. This is noticeable among other races, but especially marked in the case of the negro race.

Many European cities have established municipal pawn shops in order to protect their poor from the exactions of a class of men often found in the pawn shop business. In American cities pawn shops frequently charge ruinous rates of interest and secure the property of the poor at a price determined not by

its value but by the necessities—or the vices—of the owner. Disgraceful methods have been used. Men have been made drunk only to find upon becoming sober again that their little stock of household goods had found its way into some Shylock's establishment, the broker alone knowing the sum advanced, yet holding the goods for so high a price as to place it utterly beyond the power of the victim to redeem them. By such methods wealth sometimes finds its way into very unworthy hands.

The presence of a large number of ignorant, degraded, thriftless negroes tends to bring a corresponding class of men to the front both in political and in business circles. Fortunately for local interests in the South, the white race in the South stands as a unit politically, and early succeeded in practically eliminating the negro from local politics. Except in a very few cities and in some of the mountainous sections of the South, the negro vote, cast solidly for one party, is opposed by the white vote, cast almost solidly for the opposing party. For this reason, the power of the negro to fasten any general corruption upon Southern State politics was broken with the close of the reconstruction period. When the negro cast in his lot with the Republican party, the result was his practical elimination from local politics—a fact which no Southern man regrets. To eliminate the negro from the economic situation was, however, impossible.

Ignorant, untrained, almost helpless, a large class of the negroes now constitutes an inviting field for cunning, crafty men whose exploitation of the race is disturbed by no conscientious scruples upon their part.

While studying this problem, I saw the contrast of the forces struggling for domination in the South very sharply drawn in what may be regarded as a representative capacity. On the one hand was the store of a wealthy planter—a gentleman representing the best type of the "Old South"—whose goods were of honest quality and at whose hands an ignorant negro was sure of just and honorable treatment. On the other, in the immediate vicinity of the first store, was a cheap shack, kept by a man with a foreign, almost unpronounceable name, where the negroes received in return for their money or produce inferior goods, bad whisky, and destructive narcotics, paying unreasonable prices for the same. Were they merely robbed of their property, the situation would not be so pathetic. By "drug habits" large numbers of them are corrupted and depraved, sometimes to such an extent as to render them worthless even as day laborers.

The extent to which the use of narcotics is coming to prevail among the negroes is not generally known even in the South. Cocaine is, perhaps, the cheapest of the drugs used by them, and hence is used more extensively than any other. A number of coal tar

preparations are also very cheap, and produce effects similar to those produced by morphine or cocaine; while not so expensive as the former. Many of the drug stores of the cities and many of the lower class of groceries of the towns, villages, and rural districts are supplying these drugs to the negroes.

Nearly all of the Southern States have greatly reduced the number of places where liquor may be sold legally. Liquor makes a negro dangerous as well as worthless. Narcotics make him stupidly harmless, and hence attract less attention. The victories of the temperance movement in the South are, in part, due to the presence of the negroes and to the effect of liquor upon them. While narcotics do not make the negro so dangerous as does liquor, yet the effect morally, physically, and industrially is even worse than that of liquor.

The degradation of the negro will ultimately, unless checked, land no small part of the wealth of the South in the hands of men who are so unprincipled as to take advantage of the ignorance, necessities, and vices of the negro whenever opportunity is afforded them to do so. There is even danger that this class of men may come to dominate in business and financial circles in large sections of the South. The only hope of preventing such a state of affairs would seem to lie in such an intellectual and moral uplift of the negro race as will cause it to cease to be a prey for un-

principled men. No graver misfortune need overtake any people than that the high-toned, honorable man should become financially subservient to that narrow, mean, dishonest type of man which thriftlessness and degradation, once they come to prevail to any great extent, are sure to call into prominence. Within recent years there has been quite a change in this respect. The typical old-school Southerner can no longer be said to dominate the business of the South as he once did. The immediate future is destined to see a decidedly cosmopolitan order of things in parts of the South. The further paternalistic protection of ignorance and economic inefficiency is impossible. As it is given to us to see the situation, the industrial education, the training, and the moral uplift of the negro are not questions of mere academic interest. The whole situation constitutes one great problem of self-preservation which the South can ignore only at the peril of all the best interests of both races.

I am convinced, after some study of the situation, that, for the present at least, it is absolutely necessary that the negro be given a measure of oversight and protection not wholly consistent with the dignity of United States citizenship. The efforts made by the United States government to protect the Indian from the greed and the aggressions of the white race, as well as from the evils of our civilization, may be studied with profit by those who are interested in the

welfare of the negro. Such a study would suggest several steps which might be taken by the Legislatures of the several Southern States, and which would prove highly beneficial to the negro. It is of vital importance that the rising generation of negroes shall receive industrial training sufficient to make them economically efficient and to confer upon them the ability to take a legitimate place in our industrial system. It is essential that the negro shall be protected from that class of men who would wrong him in trade or debase him with liquor and narcotics.

Suggestions as to how this may be done are not wanting. I need add but one. Perhaps the most prevalent evils of the situation are connected with the mercantile interests of those sections of the South where the negro predominates. Some step should be taken to restrict the licensing of retail stores, and especially the licensing of drug stores, very much as is now the case with reference to saloons. It is a grave wrong for a man of notoriously bad character to be permitted to fasten himself upon a community in the capacity of a merchant when his methods are dishonest and his manifest purpose is to corrupt and prey upon the negroes. If annually before licenses to do business were issued it were made necessary for each applicant to secure the signature of a majority of the voters and property holders of the neighborhood involved, certifying to the good moral character of the applicant,

many a den of infamy would disappear throughout the South, and the negro race would reap the chief benefit from the reform.

On its face, such a plan seems to favor monopoly. That such would not be the case in its practical workings will appear when it is remembered that it is to the interest of every community to promote competition among its merchants, which can be done in no better way than by increasing their number. It is, therefore, certain **that** very few men worthy to be in business would ever be refused the privilege of engaging in any legitimate business whenever and wherever they might wish to do so. The restraints of such a plan would fall where they are most needed, and would banish only that class who are now doing great harm. Such an arrangement as is here suggested would give each community an opportunity annually to pass upon the methods of its merchants, thus exercising a salutary influence over them. The average community may be trusted to deal justly with all applicants, as well as to protect its own interests when given an opportunity to do so.

The present situation certainly demands some action calculated to protect the negro, both morally and financially, until such time as he may be qualified to protect himself. The interests of both races demand that no large number of negroes be permitted to remain economically inefficient or morally degraded.

IX.

REFORM SCHOOLS.

The period of slavery had a necessary place in the evolution of the negro from African savagery and barbarism to his present status as a citizen of this republic. We have already discussed, at some length, the evils attendant upon the manner of his emancipation and the unfavorable conditions incident to the Civil War, under which the negro was forced to begin his career of freedom.¹

A necessary consequence of the sudden removal of the physical restraints of slavery was a transitional period involving a degree of moral and industrial abandon. If, under the régime of slavery, there was little calculated to stimulate the negro to high endeavor or to develop the higher qualities of citizenship, there was at least a guarantee that he would not fall short of a reasonable standard of manual efficiency, and we may well believe that there were but few worthless negroes in 1860. Retrogression—involving a part, at least, of the race—was an inevitable consequence of conditions obtaining during the earlier years of freedom, and is an inevitable consequence of conditions now existing in certain quarters.

In every race are to be found those who, in youth, require a system of discipline more rigid, and a gen-

¹See "Racial Integrity," pages 40-42.

eral training more strenuous than do other and better-disposed members of the race. Such restraint and direction may be rendered necessary by an unusual degree of depravity, willfulness, or vicious associations in early childhood, or by all of these, and other evil influences combined.

Partly as a result of conditions existing under slavery, partly as a result of conditions incident to the Civil War and of the moral and industrial abandon prevailing since that time, but largely due to the inherent characteristics of the race, a very large number of negro children are now growing up without the exercise of efficient restraint over them by parents or State, and consequently apart from all those influences calculated to exercise a beneficent influence upon their development. Such children are sure to constitute, when grown, a menace to all the best interests of society, and, in proportion to the devotion of the white race to high civic, social, and moral ideals, a constant source of irritation and of possible racial conflict. The most serious racial conflicts of recent years have been provoked by the crimes originating in the depravity of the lower order of the negroes. The indications are that such conflicts will increase in both frequency and bitterness in the very near future.

The problem of the reform school is, therefore, a vital feature of the problem of negro education. For a large class of young negroes, the reform school is

an absolute necessity. In dealing with this class of children, whose lives are already blighted by the weight of an adverse heredity representing the cumulative wrongs of the past, and by the disadvantages of an environment offering but little stimulation to the better side of character, the usual educational methods prove utterly inadequate. We have now to deal with large numbers of negro children who are not only depraved, but whose depravity is rendered all but hopeless by conditions over which these unfortunate children have had, and can have, no control. It is not probable that they will receive the help they need from within their own race. Relief must come, if at all, from the brain, heart, and purse of the white race.

The South has, as yet, done practically nothing for this class of negro children. They are not reached by the public schools, nor is it probable that they could be admitted to these schools in any numbers without serious injury to the morale of the student body as a whole.

Two reasons may be given for this seeming neglect upon the part of the South. In the first place, the South is already burdened with the necessity of maintaining a double school system. This often involves "the education of two races out of the poverty of one," and throughout the South opposition to a system of reform schools for the negro race never fails to emphasize the financial difficulties involved.

In the second place, the magnitude of the task is appalling. Such a system, if it were sought to operate in each State one central institution adequate to the needs of the State, would require institutions of colossal proportions. Almost every Southern community has negro children of such character that their departure would afford general satisfaction, if not relief. If each State were divided into districts and a number of such institutions established, the item of expense would be still further increased, but the results would probably be more satisfactory. The magnitude of the undertaking—the strongest argument in favor of reform schools for these negro children—has caused the Southern States to hesitate to attempt reform school work upon a scale at all commensurate with the demands of the situation.

There is, however, throughout the South a growing recognition of the necessity for such a system of industrial reform schools as shall, as far as possible, train this unfortunate class of negro youth for an honorable place in our industrial system. Thus trained, they will certainly cease to be so acute a menace to our social system as they undoubtedly are at present.

The most important asset of any nation lies in the moral character and in the economic efficiency of its people. Frugal and industrious peoples are wringing comfort, and even wealth, from some of the least responsive parts of the earth, while wasteful and indo-

lent peoples are languishing amid almost boundless natural resources. Nothing, therefore, which affects the character of its people may be safely ignored by any State. In the keen commercial rivalry of the future, individual character and efficiency must become increasingly decisive. In the language of Dr. Curry, there is such a thing as a people being "too poor not to educate."

Objection to whatever is demanded of the present in the way of adequate provision for the future is short-sighted and unpatriotic. In the feature of the problem now before us, it is quite certain that ultimate economy lies on the side of practical education for all the race, and efficient supervision for those members who, in any special sense, exhibit their need of such oversight.

Each negro child whose future is being blighted by existing conditions represents certain possibilities—economic, social, and moral. These may, or may not, be realized. By so much as these possibilities fail of realization, by that much will the State be poorer, the standard of living of the laboring class dragged down, and moral and social conditions in general become unsatisfactory. Under existing conditions it is certain that with a large number of negro children the possibility of their becoming useful citizens without aid from without their own race is very remote. Against the financial objections to an efficient system of re-

form schools must be placed that loss, none the less real because often unperceived, which, in the aggregate, is measured by the extent of the failure of the individuals involved to reach the highest possible degree of economic efficiency.

There is another fact to be considered. The actual cost of punishing criminals and of providing society with adequate protection against them may sometimes more than equal the cost of systematic effort to prevent crime. Effective police supervision may thus prove good economy, even though it involves great expense. As a general proposition, prevention is better than cure. In any study of this feature of the negro problem, it is certainly necessary that, aside from the moral issues involved, both the advantages to be derived from the reformation of individual offenders and from the prevention of degradation, and the evils consequent upon the cumulative worthlessness of an increasingly large class of negroes, must be considered. Only absolute inability to make provision for this class of negro youth in well-appointed reform schools—in which industrial training should be made very prominent—should be regarded by any Southern State as a sufficient excuse for permitting existing conditions to continue.

That such institutions as are demanded need not, if properly conducted, prove a very great expense to the States maintaining them, is evident. Reform

schools designed to meet the needs of this class of negro children should always be connected with a farm which should be cultivated by the students working under the immediate direction of the faculty, or of others competent to direct and instruct them. Such an arrangement would serve two good ends in that it would greatly reduce the cost of maintenance and, at the same time, give the students a practical knowledge of agriculture and a measure of industrial training.

The penal establishments of some of the Southern States are made to yield handsome returns. Here, however, the element of training is not considered. Further, the inmates of these prisons are, for the most part, mature men and able to do full work. Reform schools, on the other hand, would necessarily deal largely with children unable to perform profitable manual labor. The cost of instruction would necessarily involve considerable expense; but such children should be in school somewhere, and instruction in reform schools need not be more expensive than a satisfactory grade of instruction elsewhere. The primary aim of such schools must be to prepare the student for the duties of life; and this aim should not be forgotten or thrust aside for the sake of avoiding a present expense which is, after all, in the nature of a very safe investment—one which cannot be lost, and which is sure to increase the productive power of

those involved, as well as to remove a formidable item of expense in the preservation of law and order. The mistakes of forty years cannot be corrected in a day, nor without expense. It is absolutely necessary that instruction be given along industrial lines; and along such lines the labor of the student may be so directed as greatly to reduce the cost of the maintenance of such institutions, thus greatly reducing the additional burden which such institutions would impose upon the taxpayers of the South.

It is undoubtedly possible that the reform school may be so adapted to the needs of those children of the negro race who stand most in need of moral and industrial training as to make it a great factor in their rescue from conditions and surroundings which doom them to economic inefficiency and make of them a menace to the moral and social interests of the entire country.

Right methods of education along right lines will certainly prove helpful to the negro and not less so to the white race. In deciding what constitutes right methods and right lines, it is of the highest importance that two features of the negro problem be given a determinative place—viz.:

1. It is absolutely necessary to proceed with due reference to the natural endowments and the racial characteristics of the negro. His natural endowments, as indicated by careful and unbiased scientific investi-

gation into the physical basis of his intellectual possibilities, indicate certain limitations which, however the rule be tested by individual exceptions, inhere in the race and must continue to do so. The racial characteristics of the negro demand that moral and ethical principles—even among the most religious representatives of the race—shall be not only taught by precept but also enforced by example, and by all the power of judicial and by all the moral suasion of extra-judicial penalties.

2. It is absolutely necessary to proceed with due reference to the environment of the negro. He, representing that race which has shown itself least able of all the races to maintain itself in the face of its enemies and its oppressors, and least able of all the races to "make by force his merit known,"¹ finds himself a hopeless minority in the midst of that race which arrogates to itself the first place among the races, and which has for more than two thousand years made good its claim by its achievements. At the present stage of his development, and under existing circumstances, conflict with the white can mean only disaster to the black. Unwise leadership in political affairs is sure to produce irritation and to provoke race hatred. Unwise leadership in economic affairs is sure to provoke conflicts which may become

¹"The Color Line," page 129.

so general as to hinder the race seriously in its efforts to lay deep and strong a foundation for whatever of opportunity and of achievement the future may have in store for the race.

Unwise leadership in religious matters is sure to deprive the race of that stimulus to right living of which it, as a whole, stands in such desperate need. It is useless to expect the negro to rise higher than the standard which the white race, not theoretically but practically, sets for him. Decidedly the most urgent needs of the race at the present time lie along moral and ethical lines. Any educational system which ignores this fact must prove hurtful to both races.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

In the code of Mississippi of 1892, Section 1322, we find a definition of the word "vagrant"—viz.:

VAGRANTS—WHO ARE. The following persons are and shall be punished as vagrants, viz.:

(a) Every able-bodied person who lives without employment or labor, and who has no visible means of support or maintenance;

(b) Every person who shall abandon his wife or family without just cause, leaving her or them without support and in danger of becoming a public charge;

(c) Every keeper of a house of public gambling or gaming;

(d) Every keeper of a house of public prostitution;

(e) Every common prostitute who has no other employment for her support or maintenance;

(f) Every able-bodied person who shall be begging for a livelihood; and

(g) Every common gambler or person who, for the most part, maintains himself by gambling.

After various changes in the meantime, the section bearing upon this subject was revised and perfected in 1904. As this part of the code of Mississippi is, perhaps, of wider interest than almost any other, we give it in its entirety. See "Laws of Mississippi, 1904," chapter 144, page 199, *et seq.*, viz.:

AN ACT to repeal sections 1322, 1323, 1324, and 1325 of the code of 1892, to define who are vagrants, prescribe the rules of procedure in trials for vagrancy and the punishment thereof.

Vagrancy law; code repealed; who are declared to be vagrants.

Section I. Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of

Mississippi, that sections 1322, 1323, 1324, and 1325 of the code of 1892 be, and the same are hereby repealed, and the following act adopted, viz.:

VAGRANTS—WHO ARE. The following persons are and shall be punished as vagrants, viz.:

(a) Persons known as tramps, wandering or strolling about in idleness, who are able to work and have no property to support them.

(b) Persons leading an idle, immoral or profligate life, who have no property to support them, and who are able to work and do not work.

(c) All persons able to work, having no property to support them, and who have no visible or known means of a fair, honest and reputable livelihood. The term "Visible and known means of a fair, honest and reputable livelihood," as used in this section, shall be construed to mean reasonably continuous employment at some lawful occupation for reasonable compensation, or a fixed and regular income from property or other investment, which income is sufficient for the support and maintenance of such person.

(d) All able-bodied persons who habitually loaf, loiter and idle in the cities, towns and villages or about steamboat landings or railroad stations or any other public place in the state for the larger portion of their time, without any regular employment, and without any visible means of support. An offense under paragraph (d) of this section shall be made out whenever it is shown that any person has no visible means of support and only occasionally has employment at odd jobs, being for the most part of the time out of employment.

(e) Persons trading or bartering stolen property, or who unlawfully sell or barter any vinous, alcoholic, malt, intoxicating or spirituous liquors.

(f) Every common gambler or person who maintains himself by gambling.

(g) Every able-bodied person who shall go begging for a livelihood.

(h) Every common prostitute.

(i) Every keeper of a house of prostitution.

(j) Every keeper of a house of gambling or gaming.

(k) Every person who shall abandon his wife or family, without just cause, leaving her or them without support, or in danger of becoming a public charge.

(l) Every able-bodied person who lives without employment or labor, and who has no visible means of support.

(m) All persons who are able to work and do not work, but hire out their minor children or allow them to be hired out, and live upon their wages.

(n) All persons over sixteen years of age and under twenty-one, able to work and who do not work, and have no property to support them, and have not some known visible means of a fair, honest and reputable livelihood, and whose parents or those in loco parentis are not able to support them, and who are not in attendance upon some educational institution.

OFFICERS REQUIRED TO GIVE INFORMATION UNDER OATH OF
ALL SUSPECTS.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of every sheriff, deputy sheriff and constable in every county, and of the police, town marshal, deputy marshals, and of other like officials in every county, city, town or village in the state to give information under oath to any officer empowered to issue criminal warrants of all vagrants within their knowledge, or whom they have good reason to suspect as being vagrants in their respective counties, cities, towns and villages; thereupon the said officer shall issue a warrant for the apprehension of the person alleged to be a vagrant.

INFORMATION MAY ALSO BE FILED BY ANY RESIDENT OF
THIS STATE.

Sec. 3. All information charging vagrancy shall be under oath; and while it is made the special duty of the officers named in section 2 hereof to file the said information whenever they shall have knowledge or good reason to suspect that any person is a vagrant as described by any clause or section of this act, yet any information charging vagrancy may be filed under oath by any resident of this state.

PROCEEDINGS IN CASES WHERE ARRESTS MADE; DISTRICT ATTORNEY AND ATTORNEY-GENERAL TO PROSECUTE;
BOND MAY BE GIVEN.

Sec. 4. Whenever any person shall have been arrested on a charge of vagrancy, he shall immediately be carried before a justice of the peace of the district in which the offense occurs, or before the mayor or police justice of any city, town or village, if said offense occurs within the corporate limits of same, and on satisfactory evidence of his being a vagrant, the justice or mayor, or police justice shall commit such person to jail for not less than ten nor more than thirty days, and said person so committed shall serve said sentence for the prescribed time, and shall not be liberated from such sentence by payment for the time required to be served by said sentence, unless such person give bond, with sufficient security to be approved by said justice or mayor, or police justice, in any sum not less than two hundred and one dollars (\$201) for the future industry and good conduct of such person for one year from the date of the giving of such bond. Said bond shall be made payable to the state of Mississippi, and may be sued upon, in case of breach, in the name of the state, and in the circuit court, and such suit shall be triable at the first term of the circuit court after the breach occurs, provided the sureties on such bond are summoned five days before court meets, and such suit shall be conducted by the district attorney, for the state, in the circuit court, and by the attorney-general in the supreme court.

Whenever any bond so taken shall be forfeited by the misconduct of the said vagrant, there shall be no recovery on same less than the face value of the bond, unless the vagrant shall be delivered up to the circuit court for further trial, as hereinafter provided for, in which event the court may, at its discretion, limit the amount of recovery on the bond to the cost of suit and a penalty of fifty dollars (\$50).

VAGRANT MAY BE REARRESTED AFTER BOND FORFEITED.

Sec. 5. Whenever any vagrant shall forfeit his bond as provided for in the last section, by any misconduct amounting

to a breach of the bond, and the court in which the bond is to be sued upon shall have judicially so determined, such vagrant may be rearrested immediately, and placed on trial before the justice of the peace or mayor or police justice before whom the original proceedings were had, or may be immediately indicted by the grand jury and placed on trial in the circuit court as a vagrant, and on conviction for a second offense shall be committed to jail for not less than ninety days nor more than six months, and shall serve said sentence for the prescribed time, and shall not be liberated from such sentence by payment for the time required to be served by such sentence.

BONDS RETURNED TO CIRCUIT COURT AND DOCKETED ON
CRIMINAL DOCKET; SUIT FOR FORFEITURE.

Sec. 6. All bonds so taken shall be returned to the circuit court, and shall be docketed on the criminal docket of the circuit court by the clerk thereof, and shall be brought forward from term to term until the expiration of the time for which same is given, and there shall be no exemption allowed against liability on such bonds. And it is hereby made the duty of the district attorney and the circuit judge to give diligent attention to all such bonds, and to place same in suit whenever it shall appear that the said bond has been forfeited, and it is made the duty of the justice of the peace, or mayor or police justice to inform the district attorney immediately whenever they shall discover or have good reason to believe that said bond has become forfeited.

ON CONVICTION OF SECOND OFFENSE VAGRANT COMMITTED
TO JAIL.

Sec. 7. Whenever any person shall be convicted of a second offense of vagrancy, no matter under which head of this act, he shall be committed to jail for not less than ninety days nor more than six months, and shall serve said sentence for the prescribed time, and shall not be liberated from such sentence by payment for the time required to be served by said sentence; and in all cases where any person shall be con-

victed of vagrancy, in addition to being committed to jail as herein provided, such person shall also pay all costs, and shall stand committed until same is paid, and this shall apply to all cases where such person shall give bond as herein provided or not.

Sec. 8. It shall be the duty of each circuit judge to charge each grand jury especially with reference to this act.

OFFICERS PUNISHED FOR FAILING TO DO THEIR DUTY UNDER THIS ACT.

Sec. 9. If any of the officers named in section 2 of this act shall fail, refuse, or neglect to perform the duties therein required, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punished by a fine of not less than twenty-five dollars (\$25), nor more than one hundred dollars (\$100).

THE CIRCUIT COURT SHALL HAVE CONCURRENT JURISDICTION.

Sec. 10. The circuit court shall have concurrent jurisdiction to try all cases arising under this act, and to impose the same fines, penalties, and to require the giving of bonds as required herein, and prosecutions under this act may be begun by indictment of the grand jury. (Approved February 29, 1904.)

As to the method of employment of those sentenced to a term in the county jail, we quote part of chapter 100 of the "Laws of 1900." It will be seen that there is no disposition to make a jail sentence attractive nor to convert the jails of the state into "free hotels," thus encouraging vagrancy and idleness. The quotation is as follows:

SENTENCED TO IMPRISONMENT IN COUNTY JAIL.

It shall be the imperative duty of the board of supervisors of each county to require each convict sentenced to imprisonment in the county jail and to the payment of the cost, or to

the payment of a fine and costs, or sentenced to imprisonment in the county jail and to the payment of a fine and cost, to work out such sentence in one of the three following modes:

1st. By hiring out such convicts to the best bidder, either to an individual, a corporation or a municipality, in the county of his conviction, to do such legitimate labor as the hirer may require: or

2d. By delivering such convicts to the county contractor to work out such sentence as required by law: or

3d. By requiring the convicts to work out such sentence, under the direction of said board, on the public roads or works of the county, or on county farm or farms, etc. (Chapter 100, Laws of 1900.)

